वैदिक काल में बनस्पतिविज्ञान के क्षेत्र में सराहनीय प्रगति दृष्टिगोचर होती है। पौधों के वर्गीकरण, बाह्य तथा आंतरिक रचना, क्रियाविज्ञान तथा विकास का वर्णन वैदिक साहित्य में मिलता है। ऋग्वेद में प्रकाशसश्लेषण की ओर भी संकेत किया गया है। ऐसे प्रमाण मिलते हैं जिनसे पता लगता है कि उस काल के लोग भूमि को अधिक उपजाऊ बनाने के लिए फसलों का हेर-फेर करते तथा खाद डालते थे। उस दूरस्थ समय मे भी इस प्रकार के अध्ययन तथा तर्कणाप्रधान चिन्तन के लिए कोई भी हमारे पूर्वजों की प्रशसा किये बिना नही रह सकता।

ओ३म्

आर्यभट्ट

विज्ञान—पत्रिका

अगस्त, १९८७

सम्पादक :

डा० विजय शंकर

अध्यक्ष वनस्पति विज्ञान विभाग

परामर्शदाता :

प्रो० सुरेशचन्द्र त्यागी

प्राचार्य : विज्ञान महाविद्यालय

मूल्य ५.००

प्रकाशक

डा० वीरेन्द्र अरोड़ा

कुलसचिव

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय,
हरिद्वार

मुद्रक

जैना प्रिंटर्स,

ज्वालापुर

विषय-सूची

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विश्वविद्यालय के नव-नियुक्त परिद्रष्टा श्री सोमनाथ जी मरवाहा
(वरिष्ठ अधिवक्ता : उच्च न्यायालय)

मनुष्य के द्वारा की गई अनेक क्रियाओ के फलस्वरूप आज पर्यावरण मे ऐसे परिवर्तन आ रहे हैं जो समस्त प्रकार के जीवन के लिए हानिकारक है। इस प्रकार हमारा पर्यावरण दूषित हो रहा है। इस समस्या की ओर आज पूरे विश्व का ध्यान आकृष्ट हुआ है।

वर्तमान जगत की यह समस्या जो भयावह रूप से मानव-सभ्यता को निगल जाने के लिए अपने पंजे बढा रही है, प्रदूषण की समस्या है। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की पर्यावरण के प्रति सहनशीलता की निश्चित सीमाएँ है और जब कोई कारक इन सीमाओ से अधिक मात्रा मे उपस्थित होता है, उसे प्रदूषण कहते है। इससे निबटने के लिए, वातावरण मे इस विष-वमन की प्रतिक्रिया को रोकने के लिए सभी देशो की सरकारे प्रयत्नशील हैं। इस विष को पीने के लिए भगवान शिव की तरह सबसे अधिक सफल माध्यम वृक्ष पाए गए है। इनकी पत्तियाँ वायु मे मिले प्रदूषक पदार्थो के सूक्ष्म कणो को रोक और सोख लेती है। पत्थर के कोयले से उत्पन्न प्रदूषण रोकने के लिए "जगल जलेबी" नामक वृक्ष का सघन रोपण बहुत लाभकारी पाया गया है। यह धुँए की सान्द्रता मे लगभग "२७ प्रतिशत" की कमी और सल्फर डाय-आक्साइड की सान्द्रता मे "८० प्रतिशत" की कमी करने मे समर्थ पाया गया। शक्तिचालित वाहन, जैसे-कार, ट्रक एव बसे भी प्रदूषण के स्रोत हैं। यदि सडको और मकानो के बीच १० मीटर चौडी तथा ६ मीटर ऊँची हरित पट्टिका का विकास किया जाए तो मार्गो से आने वाले कार्बन मोनो आक्साइड की मात्रा मे "४४ प्रतिशत" कमी हो जाती है।

वायु के समान जल भी प्रदूषण से मुक्त नही है। कारखानो से निकलने वाले नाना प्रकार के प्रदूषक पदार्थ नदियो मे प्रवाहित किए जाते हैं। इसीलिए कानपुर के निकट गगा और कलकत्ता के निकट हुगली नदी प्रदूषण का शिकार है। इस समय भारत के १३ नगर जलप्रदूषण से ग्रस्त है। कारखानो से निकलने वाले अनेक ट्रेस एलीमेन्ट नदो के जल मे प्रवाहित हो जाते है जिनमे से कुछ पौधो और जन्तुओ मे मेटाबोलिक एरर पैदा कर देते है जिससे कई प्रकार के रोग हो जाते है, जैसे-कैसर, हृदय रोग, स्नायु एव पेट के रोग।

प्रदूषण के लिए प्राय. जनसख्या को उत्तरदायी माना जाता है। बढती हुई जनसख्या की आवश्यकता को पूर्ति के लिए अधिक औद्योगीकरण किया

जाता है जिससे प्रदूषण मे वृद्धि होती है । किन्तु आज हम देखते है कि अनेक विकसित देशो मे जनसंख्या कम होने पर भी प्रदूषण, अधिक जनसख्या वाले देशो की तुलना मे अधिक है क्योकि वहाँ प्रति व्यक्ति आवश्यकता अधिक है । अतः वास्तविक दोष तृष्णा का है । शायद इसीलिए हमारे वैदिक ऋषियो ने "इदन्नमम्" को इतना महत्व दिया है ।

प्रदूषण को कम करने के अतिरिक्त पौधो का वातवरण-संरक्षण मे भी अत्यधिक महत्व है । वृक्षों का बेहिसाब काटा जाना, जगल के जगल साफ कर देना प्रकृति मे असन्तुलन पैदा कर देता है । इसके दूरगामी परिणाम होते हैं, भूमि का "अपरदन" प्रारम्भ हो जाता है, भूमि कृषि के "अयोग्य" हो जाती है । ताप-नियन्त्रण एव "जलचक्र" नियन्त्रण बिगड जाता है, जन्तुजीवन के प्राकृतिक निवास एव वनसपदा नष्ट हो जाते है । प्रत्यक्ष है कि वातावरण-सरक्षण और वृक्षो का गहरा सम्बन्ध है ।

—वि० शंकर
प्रोफेसर एवं अध्यक्ष, वनस्पति विज्ञान विभाग

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय हरिद्वार

दीक्षान्त-समारोह—1987

इस वर्ष दीक्षान्त के लिए माननीय कुलपति जी के आग्रह पर उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री माननीय श्री वीरबहादुर सिंह जी पधारे। उनके साथ वरिष्ठ विधायक श्री शिवनाथ जी कुशवाहा तथा पर्वतीय विकास राज्यमंत्री श्री राम अवतार जी दीक्षित उपस्थित थे। माननीय मुख्यमंत्री जी ने पुस्तकालय भवन के विस्तार के लिए आठ लाख रुपये तथा संग्रहालय के लिए एक लाख रुपये की सहायताराशि प्रदान की। विश्वविद्यालय में एक विशाल स्टेडियम बनवाने की घोषणा मुख्यमंत्री जी पहले ही कर चुके थे।

श्री आर० सी० शर्मा (कुलपति) माननीय मुख्यमंत्री श्री वीरबहादुर सिंह जी का स्वागत करते हुए।

बायें से—डा० सत्यकेतु विद्यालंकार (कुलाधिपति), श्री वीरेन्द्र अरोड़ा (कुलसचिव), श्री आर० सी० शर्मा (कुलपति), श्री रामप्रसाद वेदालंकार (उप-कुलपति) दीक्षान्त-समारोह के अवसर पर।

श्री सोमनाथ मरवाहा (परिद्रष्टा), श्री बलभद्रकुमार हूजा (पूर्व-कुलपति), एवं अन्य शिष्ट-परिषद् के सदस्यगण दीक्षान्त-समारोह के अवसर पर।

अन्तरिक्ष उड़ान का संक्षिप्त इतिहास

—डा० विजय शंकर
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१. उड़ान--कल्पना से वास्तविकता तक :

हमारे पूर्वजो ने और हममें से अनेको ने पक्षियो की स्वतन्त्र उडान की ईर्ष्या की है। मनुष्य की अपने उडने की कल्पना इतिहास मे बराबर मिलती है। इस पृथ्वी पर समुपलब्ध साहित्य के सबसे प्राचीन ग्रन्थ वेदो मे नभ, जल और थल तीनो स्थानो मे अव्याहृत गति से विचरने वाले वायुयान, जलयान तथा स्थलयान का बहुत विस्तृत वर्णन मिलता है। इसी भाँति भारद्वाज ऋषिकृत वृहद् विमानशास्त्र, पुराणो तथा महाकाव्यो मे इसका बहुत वर्णन मिलता है।

भारत से इतर देशो के साहित्य मे भी सपक्ष राजाओ, भगवान और फरिश्तो एव उडने वाले गलीचो, रथो और नौकाओ का जिक्र आता है। जैसे-जैसे विस्तृत संसार के बारे मे मनुष्य की जानकारी बढने लगी, उसकी उडने की कल्पना एवं विचार केवल पृथ्वी पर उडने या पक्षियो की उड़ान की नकल करने तक ही सीमित नही रहे, वह चॉद और उससे भी आगे तक उडकर पहुँचने के स्वप्न देखने लगा।

मनुष्य सर्वप्रथम २०० वर्ष पूर्व वायु के गुब्बारो की सहायता से उडा। ७४ वर्ष पूर्व वह सुरक्षा के साथ, हवा से अधिक भारी एयरक्राफ्ट (Aircraft) में, जिसे वायुयान कहते है, उडा। तत्पश्चात् वह वायुयान से ससार के ऊँचे-से-ऊँचे पर्वतो की दोगुनी ऊँचाई तक उडने लगा। आज से लगभग २६ वर्ष पूर्व १६६१ मे वह रॉकेटचालित केप्सूल से, जिसे अन्तरिक्षयान (Spacecraft) कहते हैं, पृथ्वी के वायुमण्डल और गुरुत्वाकर्षण के प्रभाव से परे उडान भरने लगा। और फिर वह चॉद और उसके आगे तक उड़ान भरने के लिए अग्रसर हुआ।

उडान मे वास्तविक सफलता प्राप्त करने से पूर्व मनुष्य की उडान के बारे में कतिपय कल्पनाएँ अत्यन्त रोचक है।

पुराने समय में

सर्वप्रथम शिल्पतथ्यो मे से एक जो मनुष्य द्वारा उडान को दिखाती है, ईसा से ३५०० वर्ष पूर्व की एक बेबीलोनियन सील है। इस सील पर एक गडरिया एटना गरुड़ की पीठ पर बैठकर स्वर्ग जाता हुआ दिखाया गया है।

१५०० ई०पू० फारिस (Persia) के बादशाह काऊ काऊस (Kou Kous) ने अपने तख्त से गरुड़ (Eagle) बांधकर उड़ने का प्रयास किया। काऊ काऊस एक खगोलशास्त्री थे और उन्हे बेबल की मीनार (Tower of Babel) बनवाने का श्रेय प्राप्त है।

१५०० ई० पू० के आस-पास इकारस (Icarus) और डेडेलस (Daedalus) ने पक्षियो के परो को मोम द्वारा जोडकर पख बनाए और उसकी सहायता से उडे। कहते हैं कि इकारस सूर्य के इतने निकट तक उड गया कि सूर्य की गरमी से पखो का मोम पिघल गया और फलस्वरूप वह पृथ्वी पर गिर कर मर गया। वाल्मीकि रामायण मे भी जटायु के बड़े भाई सम्पाति का सूर्य के निकट पहुँचने का वर्णन है। ९०० ई०पू० ब्रिटेन के राजा ब्लाडुड (Bladud) ने भी इसी प्रकार पखो की सहायता से साहसिक किन्तु प्राणघातक उड़ान भरी।

७५० ई० पू० के चीनी आख्यान मे 'उड़नगाडी के देश' (Land of Flying Cart) का जिक्र आता है जिसमे सपक्ष सवारी गाडी एक हाथ में झडा हिलाते हुए मनुष्यो द्वारा उडाई जाती है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि यह सब साहित्यिक वर्णन प्रागैतिहासिक काल का है। इसकी तथ्यता मे सन्देह की गुंजाइश है। उपर्युक्त साहित्य तथा कल्पनाओं के परवर्तीकाल ऐतिहासिक युग मे सर्वप्रथम गैलीलियो द्वारा आकाश के निरीक्षण ने १६१० ई० मे चाँद की उडान के बारे मे अनेक कल्पनाओ तथा अटकलो को जन्म दिया। यह सोचा जाने लगा कि चाँद पर जीवन है।

१६३४ मे मुद्रित केपलर की 'सोमनियम' (Somnium) अपने समय की अन्तरिक्ष उडान की सबसे विख्यात वैज्ञानिक गल्प थी। इसमे लेखक ने एक सोते हुए आदमी को दानवो की सहायता से चाँद के धरातल पर पहुँचाया है। ग्रन्थ मे उनका वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण बराबर बना रहता है। उन्होने गुरुत्वाकर्षण के लोप होने के प्रभाव और वायुमण्डल के विरलित होने से साँस लेने पर प्रभाव का वर्णन किया है। चाँद पर पहुँचकर केपलर वैज्ञानिक सरचना का भूदृश्य, रात-

दिन की अवधि, जलवायु और सर्पेन्टाइन जन्तुओं का, जो वहाँ रहते है, वर्णन करते हैं।

सोमनियम के मुद्रित होने के ४ वर्ष पश्चात् १६३८ मे एक अंग्रेज पादरी फ्रांसिस गाडविन की गल्प 'चाँद मे मनुष्य' (Man in the Moon) मुद्रित हुई। इसमे उडान के लिए प्रशिक्षित गीज (गैन्सास) का प्रयोग किया गया है, जो चांद पर रहती हैं और पृथ्वी को प्रवास करती हैं। पुस्तक का नायक डोमिन्गो गोन्सेल्स है। २५ गैन्सास एक यन्त्राधार (Ring) से बाँध दी जाती है ताकि डोमिन्गो उनके साथ, जब वे चांद को वापिस प्रवास करें, चाँद पर पहुँच सके। चाँद को जाते हुए डोमिन्गो सापेक्ष भारहीनता (Relative weightlessness) के बारे मे वर्णन करता है और कहता है कि "न तो मै और न इजन (गीज) बिल्कुल हिले और ऐसा लगा जैसे हम मे किसी प्रकार का भार न हो।" गाडविन की कहानी बाद मे अनेक वैज्ञानिक गल्पों का आधार बनी।

एक अन्य अंग्रेज पादरी जान विल्किन्स ने भी १६३८ मे 'चाँद मे एक नई दुनिया की खोज' (Discovery of a New World in the Moon) नामक पुस्तक लिखी। विल्किन्स ने चाँद तक पहुँचने की चार विधियाँ बताई—(१) फरिश्तो या प्रेतात्माओ (Spirits) द्वारा, (२) पक्षियो की सहायता से, (३) शरीर से पंख बाँधकर, और (४) उडनरथ द्वारा। विल्किन्स की शादी इंग्लैंड के शासक क्रॉमवेल की बहन से हुई थी। लेकिन इस बात का कोई प्रमाण नही मिलता कि विल्किन्स ने क्रॉमवेल को उडने की तकनीक विकसित करने की सलाह दी हो जिससे अंग्रेज चाँद पर सर्वप्रथम पहुँच सकते। फिर भी विल्किन्स के इस विश्वास ने कि मनुष्य अन्ततोगत्वा उडनरथ बना लेगा, रायल सोसायटी को उडने वाली मशीन बनाने पर विचार करने की प्रेरणा दी।

१६४६ मे साइरेनो डी बुर्जेरिक (Cyrano de Burgerak) ने 'चाँद की यात्रा' (Voyage to Moon) नामक उपन्यास लिखा। इसमे चाँद तक उडकर पहुँचने के अनेक प्रयास किए गए है। सर्वप्रथम साइरेनो अपने शरीर से ओस से भरी हुई बोतलें बाँधता है जिससे जब सूर्य की गर्मी से ओस का वाष्पीकरण हो तो वह चाँद पर पहुँच सके। यह प्रयास असफल रहा और वह केवल कनाडा तक पहुँच सका। एक अन्य प्रयास मे साइरेनो एक ऊँची पहाडी से शक्तिशाली स्प्रिंग द्वारा एक यान (Craft) छोड़ता है किन्तु उसका यान घाटी मे गिर जाता है। जब उसके सिपाही पटाखो (Firecrackers) को यान से अलग करते है तब अकस्मात् पटाखो का विस्फोट हो जाता है और साइरेनो यान के साथ बेअख्तयार हवा मे उडने लगता है। वह ऊपर उठता चला जाता है और इस प्रकार गल्प मे साइरेनो पहला आदमी होता है जो रॉकेटप्रघात द्वारा चाँद पर

पहुँचा। अपनी उड़ान के मध्य वह चाँद की आकर्षण शक्ति से चाँद की ओर खिचता है। तत्पश्चात् वह चाँद की सैर करता है और केपलर तथा गॉडविन के चाँद के काल्पनिक वर्णन को और अधिक नमक-मिर्च लगाकर बताता है। केपलर की तरह साइरेनो पृथ्वी पर अति प्राकृतिक साधन द्वारा वापिस आता है। बाद की उडानों मे वह सूर्य तक भी पहुँचता है। वैज्ञानिक गल्प में साइरेनो की रॉकेट की सहायता से चाँद की उड़ान बेमिसाल है। साइरेनो के समय मे आतिशबाजी और हवाई रॉकेट अत्यधिक प्रचलित थे।

२. उड़ान का प्रारम्भ :

एक ओर खगोल विज्ञान और विज्ञान के बढ़ते हुए चरणों ने मनुष्य में पृथ्वी से आगे की दुनिया मे रुचि और जागरूकता पैदा की, तो दूसरी ओर विल्किन्स, गॉडविन और साइरेनो के लेखो ने उड़ान के विचारो को बढ़ावा दिया।

१६७० मे फ्रेन्सेस्को लेनाटर्जी (Fransasco Lanatarzi) ने हवा से हल्के जहाज का प्रस्ताव रखा। इस प्रस्ताव पर विचार-विमर्श करने से गुब्बारा (baloon) का आविष्कार हुआ जो मनुष्य की उडान का सर्वप्रथम व्यवहारिक साधन बना। गुब्बारा की सर्वप्रथम सफल उडान का प्रदर्शन ५ जून १७८३ मे फ्रास मे जोसेफ और एटोने मॉटगोल्फिअर ने किया। ३५ फीट व्यास का कपडे का गुब्बारा जिसमे कागज का अस्तर लगा था, गरम हवा और धुएँ के द्वारा फुलाया गया। यह गुब्बारा ६००० फीट की ऊँचाई तक उडा और १० मिनट बाद नीचे उतरा। फ्रेंच अकादमी ने माटगोल्फिअर भाइयो को अपने सनसनीपूर्ण एव नाटकीय प्रयोग के प्रदर्शन के लिए पेरिस बुलाया। इस पर ६ सितम्बर १७८३ को लुई और उसके दरबारियो की उपस्थिति में एक सुनहरे रग का कागज और कपडे का बना हुआ गुब्बारा छोडा गया जिसमे जीवित भेड और बत्तख भी थे। यह प्रथम जैव भारयोग सुरक्षा के साथ वापिस प्राप्त हुआ। यह कहा जाता है कि भेड ने बत्तख को लात मारी थी। फिर भी बत्तख प्रथम अन्तरिक्ष कुत्ते 'लाइका' से अधिक अच्छी रही। लाइका जिसने १९५७ मे स्पुतिनिक मे अन्तरिक्ष का चक्कर लगाया था, जीवित न रह सका, जबकि बत्तख जीवित रही।

संसार का सर्वप्रथम पुरुष जो हवा में उडा, लुई का कोर्ट इतिहासकार पिलेटे डी रोजिअर (Pilatae de Rosier) था। १५ अक्तूबर, १७८३ को मॉटगोल्फिअर टाइप गरम हवा के गुब्बारे मे पिलेटे ८५ फीट की ऊँचाई तक उड़ा। २१ नवम्बर १७८३ को पिलेटे और मार्क्विस एरलेन्डिस चमकदार सुन-

हरे और नीले रंग के गुब्बारे में ३००० फीट की ऊँचाई पर पेरस शहर के ऊपर उडे। १ दिसम्बर १७८३ को प्रोफेसर चार्ल्स और राबर्ट हाइड्रोजन गैस के गुब्बारे में पृथ्वी से १०,००० फीट की ऊँचाई तक उड़े। इस प्रकार १७८३ तक आदमी उडने लगा था और लोगो पर गुब्बारे का भूत सवार हो चुका था।

मनुष्य की सर्वप्रथम बैलून उडाम के १४ माह पश्चात् जनवरी १७८५ को जीनपियरे ब्लैन्कार्ड और डा० जॉन जेफ्रोज बैलून मे डॉवेर से केलेस (Dover to Calais) तक इगलिश चैनल के आर-पार उडे। यह प्रथम सफल अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय उडान थी। इससे पूरे योरुप मे बैलून को धूम मच गई। १८वी शताब्दी के अन्त तक सैकडो बैलून उडाने हो चुकी थी।

हवा से उडने वाले बैलून की उपयोगिता धरती का दृश्य देखने और साहसिक रोमांच तक ही सीमित थी। १८७४ मे गैस्टन टिसेन्डियर और अनेक वैज्ञानिक ऊपरी वायुमण्डल के अध्ययन के लिए २६००० फीट की ऊँचाई तक पहुँचे। बैलून से हवाई निरीक्षण का सैनिक महत्व भी था। १७९४ तक फ्रांस की सेना ने बैलून निरीक्षण स्क्वाड्रन सगठित कर लिया। बैलूनो का प्रयोग अनेक लडाइयो मे हुआ, जैसे अमरीकी गृहयुद्ध, फ्रेंको प्रूशन युद्ध (१८७०-७१) और प्रथम तथा द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध। १८७१ मे पेरिस के घेराव (Seize of Paris) के दौरान बैलून द्वारा पहली हवाई डाक भेजी गई। बैलून की लोकप्रियता समय के साथ-साथ बढती चली गई और शीघ्र ही पूरे योरुप मे बैलून एक सर्वप्रिय क्रीडायन्त्र बन गया और लगभग एक शताब्दी तक हवा के साथ क्षेत्रपार (Cross Country) बैलून दौडो की एक धुन-सी चलती रही।

१९वी शताब्दी के अन्त तक बैलून अन्तर्दहन इंजन (Internal Combustion Engine) द्वारा चलाये जाने लगे। पार्श्विक स्थिरता (Lateral Stability) के लिए वह सिगार की तरह लम्बे बनाए गए। १९०१ मे ब्राजील निवासी सेन्टोस ड्यूमाट ने पेरिस मे ऐफिल टॉवर के चारो ओर अपने वायुपोत मे चक्कर लगाकर पेरिसवालो का दिल मोह लिया। १९०० में जर्मनी के काउन्ट वान जेप्लिन ने अनम्य ढाँचे वाले वायुपोत (rigid frame deregeble) उडाना आरम्भ किया जिसमे यात्रियों के लिए बन्द केबिन थे। इस तकनीक से बडे आकार के जैपेलीन (Zeppelin) बनाए जाने लगे और इनमें से एक ने (ग्रेफ जैपेलीन ने) १९२७ मे ससार का चक्कर लगाया। लेकिन १९३७ मे वार्नहिडेनबर्ग नामक जैपेलीन लेकहर्स्ट (Lakehurst) पर टकरा कर आग की लपटो को समर्पित हो गया और इसके साथ डिरिजिबल के दिन भी समाप्त हो गए।

२०वीं शताब्दी मे भी बलून उडान के बहुमूल्य उपकरण बने रहे। वे वायु-मण्डल मे वायुयान की अपेक्षा अधिक ऊँचाई तक पहुँचे। १९२७ मे अमरीकी कप्तान एच०ए० ग्रे बैलून द्वारा समताप मण्डल (Statosphere) मे पहुँचे, जबकि बेल्जियन आगस्टे पिक्कार्ड १९३२ मे बेलून द्वारा ५३,१५२ फीट ऊँचाई तक उडे। हीलियम गैस द्वारा फुलाए गए बेलून एक्सप्लोरर-II मे सेना के कप्तान ओ०ए० एन्डरसन और ए० डब्ल्यू० स्टीवेन्सन १९३५ मे ७२,३९५ फीट की ऊँचाई तक उडे। ऊँची उडानो का यह एक ऐसा रिकार्ड था जो ४० वर्ष तक कायम रहा। द्वितीय महायुद्ध के बाद हल्के और मजबूत प्लास्टिक के बैलूनो का विकास हुआ। यह मनुष्य को १०,००० फीट से अधिक की ऊंचाई तक ले जा सकते थे। अन्तरिक्ष युग में भी यह एक उपयोगी प्राप्ति बनी रही।

३. अन्तरिक्ष को वैमानीय मार्ग :

जबकि बैलून और डिरिजिबल से मनुष्य की उडने की साध पूरी हुई, उसका तेज रफ्तार और सपक्ष उडने का स्वप्न फिर भी स्वप्न ही बना रहा। अपने इस स्वप्न को साकार करने के लिए वह निरन्तर प्रयत्न करता रहा और २०वी शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ मे उसने बैलून से अधिक तेज रफ्तार वाला और कम खर्चीला हवाई रथ (Aerial chariot) वायुयान (Aeroplane) बनाया। १७ दिसम्बर, १९०३ विमान के इतिहास मे एक महत्वपूर्ण दिन था। इस दिन डेटन के राइट बन्धुओं ने किट्टी हाक नार्थ कैरोलिना मे अपने वाइप्लेन मे सफल उडान भरी। यह यन्त्रशक्तियुक्त वायुयान (powered aeroplane) मे मानव द्वारा नियन्त्रित प्रथम उडान थी। मनुष्य के विकास पर विमानन का प्रचुर प्रभाव पड़ा। बडे देशो का यह महत्वपूर्ण सैनिक हथियार बना। २०वी शताब्दी के दो महायुद्धो के मध्य वैमानिकी (Aeronautics) मे तेजी से प्रगति हुई। यहाँ यह उल्लेखनीय है कि जहाँ अनेक अन्य लोग वायुयान बनाने मे असफल रहे, वहाँ राइट बन्धुओ को आश्चर्यजनक सफलता मिली। राइट बन्धुओ की सफलता का कारण उनका कठिन परिश्रम, लगाव, अभियान्त्रिकी का ज्ञान और इस क्षेत्र मे हुए पिछले काम का गहन अध्ययन था। इस सदर्भ मे यहाँ १५वी शताब्दी के महान् कलाकार, वैज्ञानिक और इ जीनियर लेनार्ड दी विन्सी का नाम उल्लेख-नीय है। उनके महत्वपूर्ण कार्य जो उनकी नोटबुक मे दर्ज थे, लगभग ३०० वर्षों तक संसार के सामने नहीं आए। इनमे घूर्णक पख (rotary wing), पैराशूट, नोदक (Propeller) के चित्र और उन पर टिप्पणी थी। राइट बन्धुओं से पूर्व जिन अनेक लोगो के नाम विमानन (Aviation) के इतिहास मे आते है, उनमे सर्वप्रथम सर जार्ज केली हैं जिन्हे ब्रिटिश एविएशन का पिता माना जाता है। इन्होने १८०४ मे स्थिर पंख वाले ग्लाइडर (fixed wing glider), अन्तर्दहन इ जन (internal combuston engine), पेचदार नोदक (screw pro-

pellers) और घूर्णक पंख के एक के बाद एक, अनेकों डिजाइन बनाये और परीक्षण आरम्भ किए। १८४३ तक केली के १ नोदक और ४ नोदक पंख वाले हवाई रथ में वायुयान और हेलीकाप्टर दोनो के लक्षण सम्मिलित थे। १८४७ में स्ट्रिंगफेलो ने भापचालित २० फीट के सपक्ष क्राफ्ट (winged craft) को सफलता से उडाया। १८६६ में ग्रेट ब्रिटेन की वैमानिकी सोसायटी (Aeronautics Society) बनी और इसी समय फ्रास मे पैनूड (Peneud) ने, एलजीरिया मे मोइलियार्ड ने और इंगलेंड मे एल्डर तथा मैक्जिम ने यह अनुभव किया कि सपक्ष उडान की समस्या का हल निकलना निश्चित है। १९वी शताब्दी के अन्तिम दिनों मे यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स अमेरिका मे आक्टेव चन्यूटे और जॉन माटगोमरी ने, तथा जर्मनी में आटोलीलियेन्थाल ने ग्लाइडर (सर्पण) उड़ान आरम्भ की।

स्मिथसोनियन सस्थान के सचिव और विख्यात वैज्ञानिक सेम्युएल पी० लॅंगले ने विमानविज्ञान के विकास के लिए अपनी सूझबूझ, और राइट तथा अन्य लोगों के लिए शोधकार्य मे आर्थिक सहायता प्रदान की। १८९६ मे लेंग्ले ने भाप से चलने वाला एयरोड्राम का मॉडल बनाया जो आधे मील से अधिक दूरी तक उडा। इस महान प्रदर्शन से प्रभावित होकर यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स के आर्डनेन्स तथा फर्टिफिकेशन के आर्मी बोर्ड ने लेंग्ले को मनुष्य ले जा सकने वाले एयरड्रोम के विकास के लिए ५०,००० डालर का अनुदान दिया। किन्तु ८ दिसम्बर १९०३ को, राइट भाइयो की सफल उडान के ९ दिन पूर्व, लेंग्ले का एयरोड्रोम जिसे चार्ल्स मेनली चला रहे थे, एनाकोस्टिआ के निकट पोलोमक नदी मे जा गिरा।

अप्रैल १९०८ मे आर्विले राइट फ्लायर का प्रदर्शन अमरीकी सैनिक निरीक्षको के सामने हुआ जिससे प्रभावित होकर १९०९ मे यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स ने ससार मे वायुयान रखने की पहल की।

संसार का पहला मनुष्य जो योरुप की धरती से ऊपर उडा, सेन्टास ड्यूमाट था। इस घटना से प्रभावित होकर ब्रिटिश सवाददाता लार्ड नार्थ क्लिफ ने कहा था 'समाचार यह नही है कि मनुष्य उड निकला है, बल्कि यह है कि इंगलेंड अब द्वीप नही रहा।' १९०९ में फ्रास के लुई ब्लेरियार ने फ्रास से इंगलेंड तक इंगलिश चैनल के पार उडकर इस बयान की सपुष्टि की। अब हवाई जहाज का युग भली-भाँति आरम्भ हो चुका था।

१९०८ तक योरुप का प्रत्येक बडा राष्ट्र राइट के एयरोप्लेन की श्रेष्ठता देख और मान चुका था। फलस्वरूप हर देश ने वैमानिकीय विज्ञान के अध्ययन की उन्नति के लिए सरकारी प्रयोगशालाये स्थापित कर ली। इस समय योरुप

मे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय तनाव के कारण हथियारों के लिए दौड़ आरम्भ हो चुकी थी। यह समझा जाने लगा था कि यदि युद्ध छिड़ा तो अधिक अच्छे वायुयान जल और थल पर शत्रु का निरीक्षण करने के लिए उपयोगी सिद्ध होंगे। किन्तु आश्चर्य की बात है कि विमानन को आगे बढाने की इस दौड़ मे राइट भाइयो का देश अमरीका पिछड़ गया।

१६१४ के महायुद्ध मे विभिन्न देशों के पास वायुयानो की संख्या निम्न प्रकार थी—

फ्रास	—	१४०० सैनिक एयरक्राफ्ट
जर्मनी	—	१००० एयरोप्लेन तथा १ हवा से डिरिजिबल एयरफ्लीट
रूस	—	८०० एयरोप्लेन
इंगलैंड	—	४०० एयरोप्लेन
यूनाइटेट स्टेट्स		२३ सैनिक एयरोप्लेन

अमरीका में १६१५ में कांग्रेस ने उड़ान की समस्याओ का वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन करने के लिए नेशनल एडवाइजरी कमेटी फॉर एयरोनॉटिक्स की (National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics) स्थापना की गई।

१६१४ के महायुद्ध के मध्य विमानन (Aviation) के क्षेत्र मे तेजी से उन्नति हुई। घूर्णक नोदक (Rotating Propeller) मे से होकर मशीनगन द्वारा गोली चलाने का आविष्कार हुआ। इस आविष्कार ने एयरोप्लेन को हवाई लडाई के योग्य बना दिया। १६१४ मे वायुयान के उडने की गति का रिकार्ड १२६ मील प्रति घटा था और वह २०,००० फीट की ऊँचाई तक उड सकता था। १६१८ मे जब युद्ध समाप्त हुआ तब वायुयान की गति १७१ मील प्रति घटा थी और वह ३०,००० फीट की ऊँचाई तक उड सकता था। १६१६ मे इगलैंड मे रायल एयर फोर्स की स्थापना हुई। इटली में गियूलो डूहेट (Giulo Duhet) ने 'कमाड ऑव दी एयर' नामक पुस्तक लिखी जिसमें यह बताया गया कि भविष्य के युद्ध हवा मे जीते जायेंगे। १६१६ में हवाई डाक और सवारी यातायात आरम्भ हुआ। २०-२१ मई १६२७ को चार्ल्स ए० लिड-बर्ग अपने मोनोप्लेन 'स्पिरिट ऑव सेन्ट लुई' मे अकेले अटलाटिक महासागर के आर-पार उड़े।

द्वितीय महायुद्ध के मध्य (१६३६-१६४५) भी उड़ान की तकनीक में

तेजी से प्रगति हुई। हिटलर के जर्मनी ने जेटचालित (Jet-propelled) तथा राकेट से विसेदित (Rocket-thrusted) वायुयान बनाये। उसने तरल ईंधन वाले प्राक्षेपिक बैलिस्टिक राकेट भी बनाए। सब जानते हैं कि किस प्रकार जर्मनी ने अपनी हवाई ताकत के बल पर फ्रांस, इगलैंड, स्कैन्डीनेविया, पौलैण्ड आदि देशों को रौद डाला था। और इसी प्रकार ६ अगस्त १९४५ को जब जापान ने अमेरिका के सामने बिना आक्रमण के हथियार डाले थे तो यह केवल हवाई ताकत के कारण ही सम्भव हुआ था। हिरोशिमा और नागासाकी पर अमरीकी विमान बी–२९ ने एटम बम गिराकर जापान की कमर तोड दी थी। प्रत्यक्ष है कि वायुयान ने युद्ध के साधनों में इन्कलाब ला दिया।

अब हवाई जहाज ६०० मील प्रति घंटा की गति से उड़ने लगे थे और ५०,००० फीट की ऊँचाई तक पहुँच निकले थे। रायल एयरफोर्स के फ्रेक व्हिटल ने एयरक्राफ्ट को जेट प्रणोदन से उडाने के लिए प्रयत्न आरम्भ किए। जर्मनी के पास भी राकेटचालित लडाकू थे।

१९५० मे कोरिया के युद्ध मे यूनाइटेड स्टैट्स (एफ-८६) और सोवियत (मिग-१५) जेट लडाकू वायुयान आपस मे भिडे। १९५४ मे यू०एस० एयरफोर्स के हथियारो मे हाइड्रोजन बम्ब भी सम्मिलित हो गया। यह एटम बम्ब से हजार गुना शक्तिशाली था। इस सबसे कूटनीतिज्ञता में भी इन्कलाब आया। एक ही स्थान से विश्व के कोने-कोने तक बम्ब गिराने वाले विश्वव्यापी बॉम्बर फोर्स (global-legged bomber force) से आक्रमण करने वालो को डर पैदा हो गया।

४. अन्तरिक्ष के कगार पर :

उडान के इतिहास मे वैमानिकी के नाटकीय एव महत्वपूर्ण अध्याय ने अन्तरिक्ष उडान की ओर महत्वपूर्ण वैज्ञानिक एव तकनीकी कदम बढाने मे प्रशसनीय योगदान दिया। विज्ञान के इस क्षेत्र मे तेजी प्रगति से हुई। वायुयान के लिये राकेट इ जन का विकास सभव हुआ। १९२९ मे फ्रिटज वान ओपेल अपने राकेट-चालित ग्लाइडर मे सफलता के साथ उडे। १९४४ मे यू० एस० राकेट एयरप्लेन प्रोग्राम आरम्भ हुआ। १४ अक्टूबर, १९४७ को चार्ल्स ई० ईगर (Charles Eyeager) ने बेल X-I नामक वायुयान मे पहली पराध्वनिक (ultrasonic) उडान भरी। बेल X-I मे ६,००० पौण्ड नोद का राकेट इ जन लगा था।

इस प्रकार राकेट रिसर्च एयरप्लेन प्रोग्राम का सफलता के साथ प्रारम्भ

हुआ और जब तक अन्तरिक्ष युग नही आया इस प्रोग्राम ने मनुष्य को लेकर उडने मे रफ्तार और ऊचाई (altitude) के समस्त रिकार्ड तोडे । नवम्बर १९५३ में ए० स्काट क्रासफोल्ड यू० एस० एन० ए० डुगलस डो ५५८-I नामक प्लेन मे ध्वनि से दुगनी गति से उडे। राकेट दहन के लिये आक्सीजन की आवश्यकता नही होती इसलिये राकेट इंजन की सहायता से मनुष्य वायुमण्डल में इतना ऊँचा उड सकता था जितना कि उसका राकेट एयरप्लेन का नोद (thrust) उसको ले जा सके।

जैसे-जैसे मनुष्य अधिक ऊँचाई तक और अधिक गति से वायुयान मे उडने लगा, नई समस्याये सामने आने लगी। यह बात सामने आई कि पृथ्वी से २०,००० फीट के ऊपर के विरलित वायुमण्डल मे मनुष्य को लगातार उडने के लिये आक्सीजन की आवश्यकता पडती है और ६३,००० फीट से ऊपर यदि वह सूट या केबिन वातावरण से दबानुकूलित न रहे तो उसका खून उबलने लगेगा। भारहीनता या गुरुत्वाकर्षणहीनता के प्रभाव का अध्ययन १९५० मे आरम्भ हुआ।

५. राकेट-तकनीक का विकास—

समस्त अन्तरिक्ष उडान का आधार राकेट प्रणोदन (rocket propulsion) है। मनुष्य द्वारा बनाया गया चालन (locomotion) का कोई भी अन्य साधन किसी वस्तु को इतना प्रघात (thrust) नही दे सकता कि वह इतनी अधिक गति पकड सके कि पृथ्वी की गुरुत्वाकर्षण शक्ति को निष्प्रभावित कर दे। अन्तरिक्ष के प्राय शून्य में एक बार पहुँच कर राकेट के उच्च ऊर्जा वाले रसायन जलने से उत्पन्न प्रघात वायुमण्डल के आक्सीजन के बिना भी कार्य करती रह सकती है। मोटरो, एयरप्लेन और जेट एयरक्राफ्ट मे लगे हुए दहन इजन (combuston engine) आक्सीजन वाले वायुमण्डल के ऊपर अन्तरिक्ष मे काम नही कर सकते। मनुष्य की अन्तरिक्ष मे यात्रा राकेट तकनीक के आधुनिक रूप से ही सभव हुई है।

राकेटविज्ञान का आधारभूत सिद्धान्त अभिक्रियाशील प्रणोदन (reactive propulsion) है जो प्रकृति मे पाया जाता है। मालस्क फेमिली का स्क्विड जल को बार-बार अपने अन्दर खीच कर तथा बाहर फेक कर थोडी दूर बहुत फुर्ती से चल सकता है। ३५० ई० पू० के आसपास आर्केटाइटस नामक मनुष्य ने लकडी की कपोत बनाई और यह कहा जाता है कि यह भाप अभिक्रियाशील साधन (steam reaction device) से चलायी जाती थी।

रासायनिक राकेट का उद्भव (origin) गन पाउडर के इतिहास मे है। १०४० ए० डी० के चीनी प्रकाशन मे काले पाउडर के राकेट का, जिन्हे अग्निबाण (fire arrows) कहते हैं, उल्लेख है। यह बाण जिनके साथ काले पाउडर के सिलिंडर सलग्न थे, कमान से छोडे जाते थे। चीनियो के अग्निबाण (fire arrows) का प्रयोग जिन्हे प्रथम व्यवहारिक राकेट के रूप मे मान्यता मिल चुकी थी, शीघ्र ही सम्पूर्ण एशिया मे फैल गया और टारटर या मंगोल आक्रमण से मध्य पूर्वी योरोप मे जा पहुँचा। चीनियो का काला पाउडर प्रणोदी (propellant), साल्टपीटर (KNO_3) चारकोल और गधक से मिलाकर बनाया गया था। सब जानते हैं कि यह अत्यन्त विस्फोटक मिश्रण है।

योरोप मे राकेट का प्रथम बार प्रयोग १२४१ मे लीजनिट्ज (Liegnitz) की लडाई मे हुआ। मूर लोगो (Moors) ने भी स्पेनिश पठार मे १२४६ मे राकेट प्रयोग किये। १३वी और १४वी शताब्दी मे काले पाउडर वाले अग्नि शस्त्र के रसायन का गहन अध्ययन किया गया। १३ वी शताब्दी के मध्य तक योरोप मे तोपखाने के लिये गननली का विकास हो चुका था। इस समय राकेट का डिजाइन अत्यधिक साधारण था। यह केवल बारूद से भरा कागज का सिलिडर था जिसे दिशा और स्थिरता देने के लिये एक छडी से बाध दिया गया था। इसका मुख्य लाभ अपने निशाने को आग लगाना था।

इस समय की एक अत्यन्त प्रचलित आधुनिक कथा वान हू (Wan Hu) की है। उन्होने ४३ पाउडर राकेट अपनी कुर्सी से बाधे और अपने ४३ नौकरो को यह आदेश दिया कि उनके सकेत पर वह राकेटो मे आग लगा दे। वान हू कुर्सी पर बैठे, और उनके सकेत पर नौकरो ने ४३ राकेटो को आग लगा दी। एक अत्यन्त जोरदार धमाका हुआ और उसके बाद वान हू कही दिखाई नही पडे।

१४८० के आसपास एक सैनिक इंजीनियर जोन्स डी० फान्टाना ने सैनिक राकेटो की नाना प्रकार की डिजाइने बनाई। १५६१ मे न्यूरेम्बर्ग के जान शिमलाप ने राकेटो के उत्पादन तथा उनके शान्तिमय प्रयोगो पर एक पुस्तक लिखी। इस पुस्तक ने राकेट विज्ञान मे लोगो की रुचि को बढ़ावा दिया। अग्नि शस्त्र (fire arms) और तोपखाना के विकास के साथ आतिशबाजी का भी चलन चल पडा। इतिहास की दृष्टि से आरम्भिक राकेटविज्ञान पर अत्यन्त रोचक प्रकाशन पोलेण्ड के तोपखाना विशेषज्ञ कॉसमीरज सीमेनोविक्ज (Kosmierz Siemienowicz) की "आर्टिस मग्ने आर्टीलरीअस" (Artis Magne Artilleriäs) नामक पुस्तक थी जो १६५० मे प्रकाशित हुई। इसमे बने हुए विभिन्न प्रकार के राकेटो के रेखाचित्र आज भी प्रयोग म आते है।

सीमेनोविक्ज के प्रकाशन के २८ वर्ष पश्चात् न्यूटन ने अपने गति के तीसरे सिद्धान्त मे राकेट प्रणोदन के सिद्धान्त को वैज्ञानिक व्याख्या की। उन्होंने बताया कि प्रत्येक क्रिया की उसकी उल्टी व बराबर प्रतिक्रिया होती है। उनके अनुसार पृथ्वी की गुरुत्वाकर्षण शक्ति अन्तरिक्ष में प्रक्षेप्य (projectile) की गति से निष्प्रभावित हो सकती है। यदि एक तोप के गोले को पर्याप्त गति से ऊपर को छोड़ा जावे तो वह चाद की भाँति पृथ्वी के चारो ओर कक्षा में लाया जा सकता है। वायुमण्डल से परे उड़ने के लिये राकेट प्रणोदन के महत्व को तब तक नही समझा गया जब तक कि यह पता नहो चला कि पृथ्वी के धरातल के ऊपर वायुमण्डल की केवल एक पतली परत है।

१८ वी शताब्दी के अन्तिम दिनो मे मैसूर के राजा हैदरअली ने एक मील से अधिक की दूरी तक मार करने वाले राकेट बनाये। इनमे धातु के ट्यूब मे पाउडर भरा जाता था। हैदर के पुत्र टीपू साहब ने अपने राकेट रेजीमेंट मे तोपचियो की सख्या १२०० से बढाकर ५००० कर दी। इगलैंड और अमरीका न भी इससे प्रभावित होकर अपनी सेना के लिये राकेटो की सख्या बढाई।

राकेटो के अन्य उपयोग भी थे। जीवन की रक्षा करने मे राकेट का सर्वप्रथम उपयोग १८०७ मे योरोप मे प्रदर्शित हुआ।

वैज्ञानिक गल्प की धूम—

जबकि १८५० मे राकेट विज्ञान और सैनिक आयुध-सम्भार (military ordnance) के इतिहास अलग-अलग हो गये, वैज्ञानिक गल्प अन्तरिक्ष उडान के विकास को प्रेरणा देती रही।

ज्यूलिस वर्ने (Julieus Verne) की दो महान पुस्तको "धरती से चाद को (१८६५)" और "चाद के चारो ओर, चाद का चक्कर (१८७०)," ने अन्तरिक्ष उडान के विचार को बहुत प्रभावित किया। वर्ने की उर्वरक कल्पना, तकनीकी वास्तविकता और साहित्यिक प्रतिभा ने अनेक लोगो में यह विश्वास पैदा कर दिया किया कि अन्तरिक्ष उडान एक वास्तविकता बन सकती है। पुस्तक मे एक काल्पनिक "गन क्लब" है जिसके नायक प्रेजीडेन्ट बार्बिकेन है जो गन क्लब के सदस्यो को सम्बोधित करते है। वे कहते है कि 'यदि चाद की ओर १२,००० गज प्रति सेकेण्ड की गति से कोई प्रक्षेप्य (projectile) छोडा जाये तो वह चाद पर अवश्य पहुँचेगा। मेरे बहादुर साथियो ! मै चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तुच्छ प्रयोग को आजमाये।" इस पर अमल करते हुए गन क्लब के

सदस्यों का मुख्य उद्देश्य एक ६०० फीट लम्बी भूमिगत तोप बनाना था जिससे टैम्पा टाउन फ्लोरिडा से १० टन भार का अल्यूमीनियम का बुलेट चाँद को छोडा जा सके। यह कैसा संयोग है कि चांद को बुलेट छोडने का यह काल्पनिक स्थान आज के केप कैनेडी के latitude पर हो था जहाँ से आज अन्तरिक्ष के लिए यान छोड़े जाते हैं। गन क्लब की कार्यकारिणी का लक्ष्य बुलेट को चाँद पर पहुँचा देना था। परन्तु इसी समय एक फ्रासीसी माइकेल आर्डन ने उनके इस काम को रोका और उनको एक खोखला प्रक्षेप्य (projectile) बनाने के लिए तैयार किया जिसमे मनुष्यो के बैठने के लिए कक्ष (cabin) हो ताकि वह चाँद पर पहुँच सके। इस प्रकार गन क्लब का प्रक्षेप्य यान (projectile vehicle) एक खोखले बुलेट अन्तरिक्ष यान मे परिवर्तित हो गया जिसे चाँद पर ३ आदमी और २ कुत्ते ले जाना था। इस अन्तरिक्षयान का नाम 'कोलम्बियाड' रखा गया। तोप के दागने से उत्पन्न धक्को से तीनो मनुष्यों को सुरक्षित रखने के लिए यान में जलदाबडा (water buffers) और गद्देदार कोचो का प्रयोग किया गया था। ८ दिन की यात्रा सुरक्षा से पूर्ण हो सके, इसके लिए रासायनिक साधनो द्वारा आक्सीजन उत्पन्न करने का प्रबन्ध था। तीनों मनुष्यो ने अन्तरिक्ष के मध्य मतवाला कर देने वाली भारहीनता अनुभव की। कोलम्बियाड चांद तक नही पहुँचा। इसको चाँद के गुरुत्वाकर्षण ने आकर्षित किया जिससे इसने चन्द्र-वर्ती (circum lunar) उड़ान की और फिर वह समुद्र के पानी में सुरक्षा के साथ उतर गया। वर्न के इस उपन्यास ने अनेक रॉकेट वैज्ञानिकों को प्रभावित किया। इस समय के अन्य उपन्यासो ने भी वैज्ञानिक विचारों को प्रभावित किया। एडवर्ड एवरेट हैले (E.A. Hale) की 'दि ब्रिक मून' (१८६९-७०) में २०० फीट व्यास का ब्रिक उपग्रह (सेटेलाइट) अन्तर्साधन द्वारा छोडा गया था और २ वर्ष तक कक्षा मे रहा। इस उपग्रह में ३७ मनुष्यो के बैठने का स्थान था। अन्तरिक्ष उडान के विचार को बढावा देने वाली एक अन्य पुस्तक एच० जी० वेल्स की 'दि वार ऑव वर्ल्डस (१८९७)' थी। इसमे मगल ग्रह के लोगो द्वारा पृथ्वी पर आक्रमण का विवरण था।

जैसा कि ऊपर बताया गया है, वैज्ञानिक गल्पों ने अन्तरिक्ष उड़ान के विचार मे जान डाले रखी। इसके साथ ही अन्तरिक्ष उडान की तकनीक मे भी प्रगति हुई। रूस के कान्सटेन्टिन ई० सिआल्कोव्सकी, अमेरिका के राबर्ट एच० गाडर्ड, जर्मनी के हरमन ओवर्थ और फ्रास के राबर्ट एस्नाल्ट पेल्टरी, अन्तरिक्ष विज्ञान (aeronautics) के आरम्भिक विकास करने वाले मुख्य व्यक्तियों मे से थे।

गाडर्ड (१८८२-१९४५) अन्तरिक्ष उड़ान की ओर वर्न के उपन्यास पढ़ कर आकर्षित हुए थे। प्रथम महायुद्ध के मध्य उन्होंने ठोस ईंधन रॉकेट (solid

fuel rocket) नाइट्रोग्लिसरीन और गनकाटन, बनाये। १९२६ में उन्होंने संसार के इतिहास में पहली बार तरल ईंधन (liquid fuel) से रॉकेट उड़ाया। उनका रॉकेट २·५ सेकेण्ड में १८४ फीट उड़ा। उनकी सर्वोत्तम रॉकेट उडान ९००० फीट तक पहुँची। गाडर्ड के रॉकेट तथा अन्तरिक्ष उड़ान के कार्य ने अनेक अमेरिकी रॉकेट वैज्ञानिकों को प्रोत्साहित किया।

गाडर्ड और सियालकाव्सकी से भी अधिक श्रेय ओवर्थ को है जिन्होंने योरुप में आधुनिक रॉकेट विज्ञान को आरम्भ किया। १९२३ मे प्रकाशित अपनी पुस्तक 'दि रॉकेट इनटू इन्टरप्लेनेटरी स्पेस' में ओवर्थ ने बताया कि ऐसे अन्तरिक्ष यान बनाये जा सकते हैं जो पृथ्वी के वायुमण्डल के घेरे के परे जा पहुँचे और उनमे मनुष्य भी जा सकें। इस समय तक अनेक राष्ट्रीय रॉकेट सोसायटी बनी। १९३३ मे ब्रिटिश इन्टरप्लेनेटरी सोसायटी के सदस्य जर्मन स्पेस सोसायटी से परामर्श के लिए बर्लिन गए, किन्तु उन्हे निराशा हुई। यह सोसायटी बन्द हो चुकी थी क्योंकि रॉकेट विज्ञान का अध्ययन जर्मनी की सेना ने अपने हाथ मे ले लिया था। १९४५ तक जर्मनी रॉकेट विज्ञान मे संसार से १० वर्ष आगे बढ चुका था। उसने ५६००० पौण्ड के प्रधात (thrust) वाला और २०० मील की मार वाला पराध्वनिक गति का V-2 प्राक्षेपिक रॉकेट बना लिया जो वायुमण्डल के ऊपर अन्तरिक्ष मे जा सकता था। यह पृथ्वी के वायुमण्डल के परे तक जाने वाला पहला यानसाधन था।

इस प्रकार हम देखते है कि वर्न, हेले और वेल्स की कल्पनाओ और सिआलकोव्सकी, गाडर्ड एवं ओवर्थ के गम्भोर विचारो (१८६५-१९४५) ने अन्तरिक्ष उडान की तकनीक को तेजी से आगे बढाया। द्वितीय महायुद्ध की दो मुख्य तकनीकी प्राप्तियाँ एटम बम और तरल ईधन प्राक्षेपिक रॉकेट ने अन्तरिक्ष उडान को वास्तविकता मे परिणित कर दिया। इस प्रकार द्वितीय महायुद्ध के १२ वर्ष पश्चात् अन्तरिक्ष युग का श्रीगणेण हुआ।

६. अन्तरिक्ष युग का श्रीगणेश :

४ अक्टूबर १९५७ को सोवियत यूनियन ने मनुष्य द्वारा बनाया गया प्रथम भू-उपग्रह (Earth Satellite) स्पुतनिक-I छोड़ा। स्पुतनिक के अर्थ सहयात्री होते हैं। इसका भार १८४ पौण्ड था और इसमें रासायनिक बैटरियाँ (chemical batteries) तथा दो रेडियोप्रेषित्र (radio transmitter) थे जिनसे पृथ्वी को ताप, कॉस्मिक किरणें (cosmic rays) और माइक्रोमेटेरायड्स (micro meteroids) पर आँकडे भेजे जाते थे। यह अप्राकृतिक चाँद

मैनिक मिसाइल के रूप मे विकसित किए गए रॉकेट से छोडा गया था। इसकी कक्षा (orbit) पृथ्वी से ५५८ मील ऊपर थी और यह १७,५०० मील प्रति घटा की गति से यात्रा करता था।

एक मास पश्चात्, २ नवम्बर १९५७ को सोवियत यूनियन ने ११२० पौण्ड भार का स्पुतनिक II पृथ्वी की कक्षा मे छोडा। इसमे 'लाइका' नाम का कुत्ता भेजा गया था। संसार के इतिहास मे यह पहला जीवित यात्री था जो अन्तरिक्ष मे उडाया गया। इस घटना से ससार मे हलचल मच गई। अब यह आशा कि मनुष्य शीघ्र ही रॉकेट विज्ञान की सहायता से स्वय भी अन्तरिक्ष मे पहुँच सकेगा, बल पकडने लगी। स्पुतनिक के अन्तरिक्ष मे पहुँचने से यह प्रमाणित हो गया कि रूसी लोग रॉकेट विज्ञान मे अन्य देशों की अपेक्षा आगे थे। अमेरिका मे इस बात पर आश्चर्य प्रकट किया गया कि पिछडे हुए रूसी जिन्हे द्वितीय महायुद्ध में जान और माल को काफी क्षति पहुँची थी, कैसे विज्ञान और तकनीक के क्षेत्र मे बाजी मार ले गए। इसका उत्तर द्वितीय महायुद्ध के पश्चात् के रॉकेट तकनोक के इतिहास मे मिलता है।

१९४५ के पश्चात् यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स ने राकेट विज्ञान के विकास पर अधिक ध्यान नही दिया। इसके विपरीत रूस मे स्टालिन ने १९४६ मे दूर तक भार करने वाले रॉकेट बनाने के लिए, जो अमरीका तक पहुँच सकें, सर्वाधिक प्राथमिकता दी। उन्होने यह अनुभव किया कि उनके लिए अन्तर्-एटलाटिक रॉकेट बनाना बहुत महत्वपूर्ण था। १९४९ मे रूस ने न्यूक्लियर विस्फोट किया। इस घटना से अमरीका चौक पडा। अमरीका को यह आशा कभी नही थी कि रूस परमाणु विज्ञान मे इतना अधिक बढ गया होगा। इस घटना से प्रभावित होकर ट्रूमैन (अमरीका के तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति) ने तुरन्त हाइड्रोजन बम्ब बनाने का आदेश दिया। साथ ही अनेक अन्य कार्यक्रमो मे भी तेजी लाई गई। १९५१ मे अधिक बडे तरल ईधन वाले रॉकेट बनाने का काम चालू हो गया। १९५४ मे अन्तर-महाद्वीपीय प्राक्षेपिक मिसाइल बनाने की सिफारिश की गई। १ जनवरी १९५८ को प्रथम अमरीकी उपग्रह एक्सप्लोरर I छोडा गया। १७ मार्च १९५८ को NRL वेनगार्ड I छोडा गया। इसी वर्ष अमरीका मे अन्तरिक्ष नियम (space act) पास हुआ और नेशनल एयरोनॉटिक्स एण्ड स्पेस एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (NASA) ने कार्य करना आरम्भ किया। १५ मई १९५८ को रूस ने ७००० पौण्ड का स्पुतनिक III छोडा। १९६० तक अमरीका और रूस कुल मिलाकर ३८ भू-उपग्रह (earth satellite) छोड चुके थे। इनके द्वारा न केवल अन्तरिक्ष उड़ान की तकनीक मे उन्नति हुई बल्कि अपरभौमिक (extra terresterial) ज्ञान मे भी वृद्धि हुई।

१२ अप्रैल १९६१ को रूस ने वस्टोक I अन्तरिक्ष में छोड़ा जिसमें यूरी गेगरिन को प्रथम अन्तरिक्ष यात्री होने का श्रेय प्राप्त हुआ। गेगरीन ने १०८ मिनट तक पृथ्वी का चक्कर लगाया।

५ मई १९६१ को अमरीका का अन्तरिक्ष यान फ्रीडम-7, एलान बी० शेपार्ड को लेकर ऊपर उठा और १५ मिनट तक अन्तरिक्ष मे रहा। इस बीच शेपार्ड ने ५ मिनट के लिए भारहीनता अनुभव की। अन्तरिक्षयात्री एलान शेपार्ड की उडान ने मनुष्य की अन्तरिक्ष यात्रा के तीन चरण वाले प्रोग्राम का उद्घाटन किया। यह चरण प्रोजेक्ट मरकरी, जैमिनी और अपोलो थे। मनुष्य के चाँद पर पहुँचने के लिए ये तीनो चरण अत्यावश्यक रहे हैं।

प्रोजेक्ट मरकरी :

प्रोजेक्ट मरकरी ने अमरीका का अन्तरिक्ष के लिए द्वार खोला। एक छोटे से क्राफ्ट द्वारा यह सम्भव हो सका कि अन्तरिक्षयात्री भारहीनता अनुभव कर सके। ९ फीट ऊँचे मरकरी क्राफ्ट का भार डेढ टन था। प्रत्यक्ष है कि अपोलो अन्तरिक्ष यान की अपेक्षा, जो ८४ फीट ऊँचा था तथा जिसका भार ८५ टन था, मरकरी क्राफ्ट बहुत छोटा था। किन्तु इस छोटे-से क्राफ्ट द्वारा महत्वपूर्ण प्राप्तियाँ हुईं। इसने मनुष्य की अन्तरिक्ष मे जीवित रह सकने की योग्यता प्रदर्शित की।

नेशनल एयरोनॉटिक्स एण्ड स्पेस एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की अक्टूबर १९५८ में स्थापना के एक सप्ताह के अन्दर प्रोजेक्ट मरकरी मनुष्य को चाँद पर उतारने के लक्ष्य की पूर्ति के लिए तीन चरणों मे से प्रथम चरण के रूप मे अग्रसर हुआ। १९५९ के अप्रैल मे अमरीका ने सात अन्तरिक्ष यात्रियो के चयन की घोषणा की। इसके २ वर्ष पश्चात् अन्तरिक्ष यात्री एलान बी० शेपार्ड केप केनेडी से अन्तरिक्ष यान फ्रीडम-7 मे पृथ्वी से ऊपर उडे और १५ मिनट की उपकक्षीय उडान (sub-orbital flight) भरी। १९६२ के फरवरी मास म जान ग्लेन ने पृथ्वी के तीन चक्कर लगाये और तत्पश्चात् वे अटलांटिक सागर में उतरे।

मई १९६३ मे अन्तिम छठी समनुष्य मरकरी उड़ान पूर्ण हुई। इसके साथ ही अमरीका के प्रोग्राम का अगला चरण प्रोजेक्ट जैमिनी आरम्भ हो गया।

प्रोजेक्ट जैमिनी

अप्रैल १९६४ से नवम्बर १९६६ तक १२ जैमिनी उड़ानों में १६

अन्तरिक्षयात्री १,९४० घण्टे अन्तरिक्ष में रहे, मनुष्य को लेकर उड़ने के २० रिकार्ड स्थापित किये और उन्होने यह प्रदर्शित किया कि मनुष्य १४ दिन तक भारहीनता के वातावरण मे कार्य कर सकता है। उन्होंने अन्तरिक्ष मे मनुष्य के चलने, दो यानो के मिलन (rendezvonsing) और दो यानों के जुड़ने (docking) की तकनीक मे पूर्णता प्राप्त की। अन्तिम ६ जैमिनी उडानो मे १० मिलन हुए। प्रोजेक्ट जैमिनी ने अनेक रिकार्ड स्थापित किये। जैमिनी ६ और ७ कक्षा मे २० घण्टे २२ मिनट तक साथ रहे और १५ दिसम्बर १९६५ को एक-दूसरे से उनकी दूरी केवल एक फुट रह गयी थी। ३ जून १९६५ को जब अन्तरिक्षयात्री एडवर्ड व्हाइट जैमिनी-४ के मध्य अन्तरिक्ष मे चले और कार्य किया तो सारे संसार ने दांतो तले उंगली दबा ली। इस घटना ने इतिहास बना दिया। बाद की यात्रा मे ४ अन्य अन्तरिक्षयात्री कुल मिलाकर १२ घण्टे अपने यान से बाहर रहे। जैमिनी प्रोग्राम नवम्बर १९६६ मे समाप्त हुआ। इस समय तक मनुष्य अन्तरिक्ष मे २,००० घण्टे व्यतीत कर चुका था, जिसमे प्रोजेक्ट मरकरी के ५५ घण्टे सम्मिलित थे। तीसरे और अन्तिम चरण प्रोजेक्ट अपोलो के लिए मच तैयार था।

प्रोजेक्ट अपोलो :

जुलाई १९६० मे अमरीका की एयरोस्पेस इण्डस्ट्री (aerospace industry) के सामने प्रोजेक्ट अपोलो की रूपरेखा रखी गई। इस प्रोजेक्ट का ध्येय ८४ फुट ऊंचा, ४५ टन भार का ३ माड्यूल वाला क्रेफ्ट बनाना था जो ३ अन्तरिक्ष यात्रियो को चांद पर ले जा सके। इस क्रेफ्ट को छोडने के लिये सैटर्न V राकेट का विकास किया गया। यह सबसे अधिक शक्तिशाली राकेट था जिससे ७ ५ दशलक्ष पौण्ड का प्रणोदन उत्पन्न होता था और जो १४० टन का भारयोग पृथ्वी की कक्षा मे भेज सकता था और ४७५ टन भार वाले क्रेफ्ट को पृथ्वी की गुरुत्वाकर्षण शक्ति के परे अन्तरिक्ष मे ठेल सकता था। यह ३६ मंजिल ऊंचा राकेट (३६३ फीट) प्रति सेकेंड लगभग १५ टन ईंधन जलाता था। छोडने के समय इस का भार ३००० टन ऊपर था।

बिना मनुष्य को लिए १६ उडाने सैटर्न के द्वारा सम्पन्न हुई। इनसे अपोलो के इंजीनियरिंग तकनीक की मान्यताओ की सम्पुष्टि हुई, और मनुष्य को यान मे ले जाये जाने के लिए विकसित समस्त प्रणालियाँ परीक्षण की कसौटी पर खरी उतरी। किन्तु जनवरी १९६७ मे परीक्षण के मध्य अपोलो क्रेफ्ट में, जबकि वह छोडने के स्थान पर ही था, आग लग गई जिसमे ३ अन्तरिक्षयात्री वॉजेल आई ग्रिसम, एडवर्ड व्हाइट और रोगर चैफी मारे गये। इससे मनुष्य को अन्तरिक्ष मे ले जाने के अगले कार्यक्रम मे लगभग २ वर्ष की देरी हो गई।

नवम्बर १९६७ में अपोलो-सैटर्न राकेट के जोडने का परीक्षण किया गया जो सफल रहा। अक्टूबर १९६८ मे ३ अन्तरिक्षयात्री अपोलो-७ मे उडे जिससे यह प्रमाणित हुआ कि अपोलो सज्जा (assembly) अन्तरिक्ष मे यात्रा करने के योग्य थी। १९६८ के दिसम्बर मे अपोलो-८ ने मनुष्य को लेकर पहली बार चाद की कक्षा मे चक्कर लगाया। ३ मास पश्चात् अपोलो-९ ने चार टांग वाले मकडी सदृश क्रेफ्ट का, जिसे चांद पर उतरना था, परीक्षण किया और चाँद यात्रा के लिए अमरीका की सम्पूर्ण नीति (strategy) और (hardware) की सक्षमता का प्रदर्शन किया। मई १९६९ मे अपोलो-१० ने चांद पर उतरने का लक्ष्य पूरा किया, केवल मनुष्य वास्तव मे चाँद पर नही उतरा। जुलाई १९६९ मे अपोलो-११ ने तीन मनुष्यो को लेकर ऐतिहासिक एवं रोमाचक उडान भरी और २० जुलाई को मनुष्य को पृथ्वी से लगभग २४०,००० मील दूर चाद पर उतार दिया। अमरीका के आर्मस्ट्राग और एल्ड्रिन ससार के वे प्रथम मनुष्य हैं जिन्हे चाद पर पैर रखने का गौरव प्राप्त हुआ। पृथ्वी से वे कालिन्स के साथ अपोलो-११ नामक अन्तरिक्ष यान मे उडे थे।

अपोलो-११ मे दो मुख्य खण्ड थे. (१) सेटर्न V राकेट और (२) अन्तरिक्ष यान सज्जा (assembly) जिसमे कमाण्ड माड्यूल (CM), सर्विस माड्यूल (SM) और ल्यूनर माड्यूल (LM) सम्मिलित थे। ३६३ फुट ऊचा अपोलो सेटर्न जोडा (युग्म) मध्य जुलाई १९६९ मे फ्लोरिडा मे केप केनेडी के लाचिग पैड से सेटर्न प्रथम चरण द्वारा पृथ्वी से ३८ मील की ऊचाई तक उडा। सेटर्न द्वितीय चरण ने इसको ११८ मील ऊपर उडा दिया। यह सब लगभग ८ मिनट मे सम्पन्न हुआ। इस समय राकेट के तीसरे चरण मे विस्फोट हुआ जिससे अन्तरिक्षयान की गति २५००० मील प्रति घण्टा हो गई और वह पृथ्वी की कक्षा में जा पहुँचा।

जब अन्तरिक्षयात्री अपने लक्ष्य से केवल ५,००० मील दूर रह गये तब उन्होने सर्विस माड्यूल मे स्थित सर्विस नोदन प्रणाली (propulsion system) को चालू किया। इसने चाद की गुरुत्वाकर्षण शक्ति के कारण बढने वाली गति को रोका और अन्तरिक्षयान को चांद की कक्षा मे झोक दिया।

चाद की कक्षा मे पहुँच जाने पर तीन में से दो अन्तरिक्षयात्री कमान्ड माड्यूल मे से ल्यूनर माड्यूल में चले गए। जब LM के चालको ने विभिन्न प्रणालियो का परीक्षण कर लिया, उन्हे सक्रिय (activate) कर दिया तथा इसका उतार-इंजन (descent engine) प्रज्ज्वलित कर दिया तब LM को CM से पृथक कर दिया गया ताकि वह चाद की ओर उड़ सके। चांद पर

उतरने के लिए LM पहले चाद की दीर्घवृत्तीय कक्षा (elliptic orbit) मे आया और उसने चाँद से ७० मील दूर से लेकर ५०,००० फीट के अन्दर चक्कर लगाया। तत्पश्चात्, ५०,००० फीट की ऊचाई पर LM के इंजन का फिर विस्फोट किया गया जिससे माड्यूल को गति कम हुई। अब यह मकडी सदृश माड्यूल (LM) लगभग ३ मील प्रति घण्टा की रफ्तार से चाद पर सीधा उतरा। माड्यूल की मकडी सदृश टागे चाद की सतह पर अच्छी तरह जम गई। चाद से ऊपर उठने के समय उन्ही टागो ने लाचिग पैड का काम किया। आर्मस्ट्राग और एल्ड्रीन माड्यूल से नीचे चाद की सतह पर उतरे और वहाँ लगभग २२ घण्टे रहे। इतने समय मे उन्होने वहाँ की चट्टानो के नमूने लिये, चित्र खीचे और कुछ ऐसे यन्त्र वहा स्थापित किये जो वैज्ञानिक आकडे पृथ्वी को भेजते रहे।

जब चाद से चलने का समय आया तब अन्तरिक्षयात्रियो ने LM का चढाव इ जन (ascent engine) प्रज्ज्वलित किया और वे LM मे चाद की कक्षा मे चक्कर लगाते हुए, आधारपोत (mothership) की ओर अग्रसर हुए। आधारपोत के साथ LM के युक्त हो जाने के पश्चात् अन्तरिक्षयात्री आधार-पोत मे चले गये और LM को पृथक् कर दिया तथा वही छोड दिया।

अब सर्विस माड्यूल के इन्जनो का विस्फोट किया गया जिससे ५४६० मील प्रति घण्टा की गति प्राप्त हुई। इससे अन्तरिक्षयान पृथ्वीपारीय प्रक्षेप पथ मे पहुँच गया। पृथ्वी के वातावरण मे पहुँचने से कुछ समय पूर्व सर्विस माड्यूल को पृथक कर दिया गया और पीछे छोड दिया। पृथ्वी की कक्षा मे प्रवेश करते समय यान की गति २५००० मील प्रति घण्टा थी और उसका बाहरी सतह का तापक्रम ५०००° फा० था। किन्तु यान के अन्दर का तापक्रम ८०° फा० ही रहा। अन्तोगत्वा CM प्रशान्त महासागर मे उतरा और अन्तरिक्षयात्री सुरक्षा के साथ चाद की यात्रा पूर्ण करके लौट आये।

इस प्रकार शताब्दियो पुराना मनुष्य का चाद पर पहुँचने का स्वप्न साकार हुआ। वर्न, हैने और वेल्स की वैज्ञानिक गल्पे अब गल्पे नही प्रतीत होती।

यूकेलिप्टस—कितना लाभप्रद कितना हानिकारक

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आजकल यूकेलिप्टस का वृक्ष चर्चा का विषय बना हुआ है। कुछ वर्ष पहले यह बहुत लोकप्रिय हुआ तथा वृक्षारोपण कार्यक्रमो के अन्तर्गत स्थान-स्थान पर इन वृक्षो को लगाने का अभियान शुरु हुआ। यहाँ तक कि लोगो ने अपने निजि प्लॉट पर मकान बनाने तक उसमे यूकेलिप्टस के वृक्ष लगा दिए। इसकी खेती एक अच्छे धन्धे के रूप मे मान्यता प्राप्त करने लगी। किन्तु अभी कुछ समय पहले समाचार-पत्रो मे छपा कि कुछ विशेषज्ञो की राय है कि यह पेड जमीन के लिए हानिकारक है व इसको और लगाना तुरन्त बन्द किया जाए। बड़ी दुविधा मे पड गयी जनता कि आखिर सही बात है क्या, वह क्या करे ? आइए इसी वृक्ष के विषय मे थोडी गहन चर्चा हो जाए।

यूकेलिप्टस का वृक्ष मूलतः आस्ट्रेलिया, तस्मानिया, न्यू गिनी व उसके पडोसी द्वीपो का वृक्ष है। इसे वहाँ 'आस्ट्रेलियन गम' के नाम से जाना जाता है। इसको लगभग ५०० स्पेशीज ज्ञात है तथा इसकी १८३ मान्य किस्मे है जिनमे gums, iron barks, peppermints व blood woods आदि मुख्य है। ऐसा समझा जाता है कि भारत मे टीपू सुलतान के समय मे सन् १७८२ से १७९८ के मध्य इसको लाया गया तथा बंगलोर को नन्दी पहाडियो पर इसको लगाया गया था। किन्तु कुछ लोगो का मत है कि भारत मे यूकेलिप्टस का प्रथम बीजारोपण नीलगिरी मे सन् १८३४ मे कैप्टन कॉटन द्वारा किया गया था। इसकी बहुत-सी किस्मो की आजमायश भारत मे की जा चुकी है परन्तु यूकेलिप्टस हेरीटिकॉनिस अर्थात् सफेदा सबसे अधिक प्रचलित है तथा plantation अर्थात् रोपण बढाने के लिए उपयोगी माना जाता है।

यूकेलिप्टस का वृक्ष अपनी शीघ्र वृद्धि के लिए प्रख्यात है तथा ससार के सबसे लम्बे वृक्षो मे से एक है। यूकेलिप्टस की कुछ किस्मे ३०० फीट की ऊँचाई तक लम्बी चली जाती है। रेग्नान्स नामक किस्म की ऊँचाई

३३० फीट तक आम पहुँच जाती है तथा इसका एक वृक्ष तो ३७४ फीट ऊँचा है तथा यह विश्व के सबसे लम्बे वृक्षो मे गिना जाता है। यूकेलिप्टस की छोटे आकार वाली किस्मे भी होती हैं। त्रिट्राटा नामक किस्म सबसे छोटी किस्मों मे से एक है तथा इसकी ऊँचाई केवल ६ ५ फीट होती है।

सिचाई की सुविधा न प्राप्त हो सकने वाली जमीन पर भी यूकेलिप्टस का वृक्ष मजे से हो जाता है यदि वहाँ लगभग १५०० मि० मी० की वार्षिक वर्षा होती हो। यूकेलिप्टस वैसे तो बीज लगाने से ही हो जाता है परन्तु भारत मे इसको लगाने के लिए प्राय नर्सरी मे बीज से बने पौधो को विभिन्न स्थानो पर लगाया जाता है। कुछ देशो, जैसे आस्ट्रेलिया, दक्षिण अफ्रीका व रूस मे इसे कटिंग द्वारा भी लगा लिया जाता है। इस वृक्ष की अब ६० से भी अधिक देशों मे लगभग ४० लाख हैक्टेयर जमीन पर खेती की जा रही है।

उत्तर प्रदेश, हरियाणा, पजाब व गुजरात मे यह वृक्ष अब खजाना माना जाने लगा है। पाँच वर्ष बढे वृक्ष की कीमत इतनी अच्छी मिल जाती है कि खेत मे लगायी जाने वाली किसी भी अन्य फसल से यह अधिक कमाई देती है। इसकी लकडी टिम्बर व इमारतो मे तो काम आती ही है, साथ ही ईधन के रूप मे भी उपयोगी है। इससे बहुत अच्छी किस्म का चारकोल भी प्राप्त होता है। रेलवे स्लीपर्स व प्लाईवुड उद्योग मे भी इसका प्रयोग किया जाता है। टिम्बर की लकडी के लिए यूकेलिप्टस की धीमे बढने वाली स्पेशीज अच्छी रहती है। तेज गति से बढने वाले वृक्षो की लकडी टिम्बर के लिए अच्छी नही रहती, यह आसानी से टूट जाती है। बोटेओएड्स नामक यूकेलिप्टस की लकडी पानी के जहाज बनाने के लिए काम मे ली जाने वाली लकडियो मे सबसे अच्छी लकडी मानी जाती है। इसकी लकडी नाशकजीवरोधी अर्थात् **pest resistant** होती है।

यूकेलिप्टस की शाखाओ व पत्तियो के वाष्पआसवन से विभिन्न प्रकार के उपयोगी तेल प्राप्त होते है। उपयोग के आधार पर यूकेलिप्टस तेलो को मुख्यत. तीन भागो मे विभाजित किया जा सकता है :— पहला—औषधियों मे काम आने वाले तेल; दूसरा—उद्योगो मे काम आने वाले तेल, तथा तीसरा—सुगन्धित तेल।

जहाँ तक औषधियो में काम आने का प्रश्न है, यूकेलिप्टस का तेल कीटाणुनाशक होता है तथा यह ऊपरी श्वसननलिका तथा कुछ चर्म रोगो के सक्रमण की चिकित्सा मे उपयोगी है। यूकेलिप्टस तेलो मे यूकेलिप्टॉल नामक पदार्थ मुख्य अश होता है और यह खासो मे बलगम वगैरह को निकालने मे

उपयोगी रहता है जिससे श्वसन रोग व तपेदिक के रोगी लाभान्वित होते हैं। यूकेलिप्टस के पेडों से प्राप्त एक पदार्थ साइनोल को पशु-चिकित्सा मे काम मे लिया जाता है। यूकेलिप्टस तेल के साथ लौग के तेल का बराबर मात्रा मे मिश्रण गठिया की चिकित्सा मे काम आता है तथा जले पर लगाने के मल्हम मे भी यह काम आता है। आस्ट्रेलिया, कॉन्गो, स्पेन व पुर्तगाल आदि देश यूकेलिप्टस तेल के मुख्य वितरक हैं।

यूकेलिप्टस से प्राप्त पाइपेरीटोन को थाइमॉल तथा मेन्थॉल के उत्पादन में काम मे लिया जाता है। जेरानिऑल, सिट्रोनेलॉल तथा सिट्रल भी यूकेलिप्टस से प्राप्त होते हैं तथा इन्हे सुगन्धित तेल बनाने के लिए प्रयुक्त किया जाता है।

यूकेलिप्टस ग्लोबुलस से एक रेजिन प्राप्त होता है तथा गिगान्टिया नामक किस्म से पर्याप्त मात्रा मे गोद प्राप्त होता है। यूकेलिप्टस की बहुत-सी किस्मो की छाल से प्राप्त पदार्थ चर्म के शोधन मे काम आते हैं। कागज की लुगदी बनाने के लिए भी कुछ किस्मो की छाल से उपयुक्त रसायन प्राप्त किए जाते हैं। इससे विस्कोस भी बनाया जाता है जो सश्लिष्ट तन्तु (synthetic yarn) बनाने के काम मे आता है, जिससे वस्त्र बनते हैं।

आइए, अब खेती से सम्बन्धित उपयोगो व विवादों की चर्चा की जाए। यूकेलिप्टस के वृक्षो की लम्बी कतारों को बडे खेतो की परिसीमाओ को सुरक्षित करने के लिए काम मे लिया जाता है। वृक्षो की ये कतारे प्रतिपवन की ओर बोई गयी फसल की सुरक्षा करती है। कुछ किसान समझते है कि ये वृक्ष फसल के लिए हानिकारक हैं। केन्द्रीय भू एव जल सरक्षण अनुसन्धान सस्था की राय थी कि यूकेलिप्टस की खेती से जमीन का विषाक्तन होता है तथा यह उसको उर्वरता को नष्ट करती है। इस संस्था की राय थी कि यूकेलिप्टस वृक्षो के निकट खाद्य फसले नही उगायी जा सकती क्योकि यूकेलिप्टस वृक्षो द्वारा कुछ ऐसे रसायनो का रिसाव होता है जो वनस्पतियो को नष्ट कर देते हैं। परन्तु ऐसा नही है। रूस व अमेरिका के कृषि वैज्ञानिको ने इस मत का खण्डन किया है। और देशों की बात क्यो माने, हमारे अपने ही देश मे गुजरात विश्वविद्यालय तथा आन्ध्र प्रदेश कृषि विश्वविद्यालय मे कार्यरत वैज्ञानिको ने अनुसंधान से यह सिद्ध किया है कि यूकेलिप्टस की रक्षक मेखला अर्थात् shelter belt द्वारा हानि का तो प्रश्न ही नही, उल्टा खाद्य सामग्री के उत्पादन मे २५ से ४५% तक वृद्धि होती है।

यूकेलिप्टस के कुछ आलोचको का मत है कि यह जमीन को हीन बनाता है। तथ्य यह है कि यूकेलिप्टस के वृक्ष से गिरने वाली पत्तियो के द्वारा उल्टा जमीन का उपजाऊपन बढता है। साथ ही साथ यह पेड़ जमीन मे अधिक

गहराई पर उपलब्ध खनिजों को भी प्राप्त कर लेता है जो सामान्य फसले नही कर पातीं। यूकेलिप्टस के पांच वर्ष पुराने वृक्षो वाले खेतों में किए गये अनुसंधान से (पता चलता है कि प्रति हैक्टेयर ११७० वृक्षो वाले खेत मे ४० कि० ग्रा० कैल्शियम, ३० कि० ग्रा० नाइट्रोजन, १५ कि० ग्रा० पोटेशियम, ५ कि० ग्रा० मैग्नेशियम तथा २ कि० ग्रा० फास्फोरस की वृद्धि जमीन की ऊपरी सतह पर प्रतिवर्ष हुई है। यह वृद्धि यूकेलिप्टस के वृक्षों से गिरी पत्तियों, शाखाओं तथा छाल के कारण होती है।

अभी कुछ समय पहले कुछ विशेषज्ञों ने मत प्रकट किया कि यूकेलिप्टस का वृक्ष जल के तल को कम कर देता है। यहाँ तक कि कुछ पर्यावरण विशेषज्ञो ने तो इसे 'unquenchable monster' अर्थात् 'एक ऐसा दानव जिसकी प्यास बुझाए नही बुझती' जैसा खिताब दे दिया। किन्तु गुजरात के किसानो ने इस विश्वास का खंडन किया है। उनका अनुभव है कि ऐसा कुछ भी नही होता। हाँ, यूकेलिप्टस की कुछ किस्मे ऐसी जरूर हैं जो जलाक्रात अर्थात् जल से भरी जमीनों के लिए उपयुक्त रहती हैं तथा इनको लगाने से ऐसी जमीन ठीक हो जाती है। इस प्रकार की किस्मो को रोम मे कुछ स्थानो पर आवश्यकता पडने पर लगाया गया था। शायद यह किस्म ही इस भ्रम का कारण है कि यूकेलिप्टस जल के तल को कम कर देता है। परन्तु भारत मे इस प्रकार की किस्मो को नहो उगाया गया है। लखनऊ के एक वैज्ञानिक का कहना है कि यह ठीक है कि अन्य प्रचलित वृक्षों की तुलना मे यूकेलिप्टस द्वारा जल की खपत अधिक को जाती है किन्तु जैवमात्रा (biomass) के प्रति ग्राम उत्पादन को देखते हुए यह सबसे कम है। इसके द्वारा जल की खपत ० ४८ लिटर/ग्राम जैवमात्रा के उत्पादन के हिसाब से है जबकि इस प्रकार के अन्य वृक्षो के द्वारा जल को खपत ० ५५ से ० ७७ लिटर/ग्राम जैवमात्रा होती है।

यूकेलिप्टस के विरुद्ध यह भी आरोप है कि इससे भू अपरदन (erosion) होता है। किन्तु इसके विपरीत यमन अरब गणराज्य मे केमलडोलेन्सिस नामक यूकेलिप्टस वृक्ष को बहुत ही सफलतापूर्वक भू-अपरदन को रोकने के लिए उपयोग में लिया गया है। अफ्रीका के बहुत से भागो मे रेगिस्तान के बढने को रोकने के लिए यूकेलिप्टस का प्रयोग किया गया है। भारतीय पर्यावरण विभाग ने भी कच्छभूमि (marsh lands) के उद्धार हेतु यूकेलिप्टस के प्रयोग करने का सुझाव दिया है। हाँ, एक अड़चन अवश्य प्रतीत होती है। जिस भूमि पर एक बार यूकेलिप्टस की खेती हो जाए वह अब उसी काम मे दोबारा प्रयुक्त की जाए तो ठीक है अन्यथा अन्य फसलें उसी जमीन मे थोड़ी समस्या पैदा करती हैं। इसका मुख्य कारण है कि जमीन मे यूकेलिप्टस से गिरी व दबी पत्तियाँ बहुत धीरे-धीरे अपघटित होती हैं जिससे उनमे उपस्थित

या कहना चाहिए कि उनमे बन्द पोषक तत्व काफी समय के पश्चात् निष्कासित होने पर जमीन को मिलते हैं। साथ ही यूकेलिप्टस के करकट से मिट्टी थोड़ा अम्लीय भी हो जाती है। साथ ही इस वृक्ष की जडें भी योडा उलझी-सी रहती है। इन सब बातों को देखते हुए अन्य कोई फसल बोने से पूर्व थोड़ा अन्तराल देना हितकर है। यदि अन्तराल दे दिया जाए तब इसी बीच (लगभग १½ वर्ष-मे) इसकी जड़े स्वत नष्ट हो जाती है तथा नष्ट होकर जमीन को पोषण भी प्रदान करती है। कुछ वैज्ञानिको का मत है कि वनरोपण हेतु यूकेलिप्टस की तुलना मे कुछ अन्य वृक्ष जैसे ऐल्बिजिया लीबेंक तथा ऐकेशिया टॉरटोलिस आदि अच्छे रहते है। वैसे यूकेलिप्टस की खेती अपने आप मे ही एक अच्छा सनिवेश है। इसकी फसल का आवर्तन (rotation) सामान्यतया ८ वर्ष का होता है तथा यह दो गुल्मवन (coppice) फसलें देता है। अतः एक बार बोने के बाद किसान को अगले २४ वर्षों तक इसकी फसल काटने को मिलते रहने की सम्भावना रहती है।

एक विशेष बात यूकेलिप्टस मे और है— यूकेलिप्टस की अधिकतर किस्मो मे 'लिग्नोट्यूबर' नामक एक बहुत ही प्रभावकारी भूमिगत रक्षी अंग विकसित हो जाता है। इससे लाभ यह है कि आग लगने या पशुओ के अनावश्यक चरने या अन्य किसी दुर्घटना से यूकेलिप्टस के aerial भाग के नष्ट होने पर भी इसके द्वारा नयी शाखाएँ निकाल दी जाती है। प्रचण्ड अग्नि से भी ये लिग्नोट्यूब नष्ट नही होती।

यदि यूकेलिप्टस को सिचाई वाली फसल के रूप मे माना जाए तो देखेंगे कि और फसलो की अपेक्षा इसमे सिंचाई की आवश्यकता कम पड़ती है। गेहूँ, जौ, गन्ना तथा धान की खेती के लिए प्रायः १५ से ६० इच के बीच सिचाई की आवश्यकता पड़ती है जबकि यूकेलिप्टस के लिए १४ इन्च ही काफी है।

. इस सबसे पता चलता है कि यूकेलिप्टस का पेड वास्तव मे उपयोगी है। इससे कोई हानि नही वरन् लाभ ही अधिक है। दारुहेडा (हरियाणा) स्थित सश्लिष्ट तन्तु के निर्माण करने वाली इकाई ने तो अपने रगाई विभाग से निकलने वाले अवशिष्ट जल (waste water) को वहीं का वहीं समाप्त करने के लिए वहाँ यूकेलिप्टस के पेड लगा दिये हैं और यह प्रयोग सफल भी रहा है। और फिर इसकी सुन्दरता तो इसे और भी उपयोगी बना देती है। यूकेलिप्टस की कुछ किस्में तो बहुत ही अधिक सुन्दर होती है तथा उन्हे ornamental trees अर्थात् सजावटी पेड़ो के रूप मे प्रयुक्त किया जाता है। इनकी आकृति, आकार,

पत्तियों व शाखाओं के फैलने का ढंग व तना और उसकी छाल, सभी कुछ तो आकर्षक होता है। कुछ किस्मो मे अति सुन्दर लुभावने रंगो वाले पुष्प होते हैं। टिसिफोलिआ तथा कैलोफाइला नामक किस्मो मे गहरे चमकदार रगों वाले फूल लगते हैं। एक अन्य क़िस्म पलवेरुलेन्टा का पर्णसमूह अर्थात् foliage इतना सुन्दर होता है कि देखते ही बनता है। अत्यन्त आकर्षक होने के कारण इसे 'सिल्वर डॉलर' के नाम से पुकारा जाता है तथा इसे पुष्प विक्रेता महगे फूलदानो व भेट किये जाने वाले गुलदस्तो को तैयार करने के काम मे लेते है।

इतना प्यारा होता है यूकेलिप्टस कभी-कभी !

अति सूक्ष्म उपयोगी जीवाणु—ऐन्जाइम

—डा० रामकुमार पालीवाल
अध्यक्ष एव रीडर रसायन विभाग,
गुरुकुल कांगडी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

ऐन्जाइम क्रिया को भली-भाति समझने के लिए किण्वन क्रिया का जानना अति आवश्यक है। प्राचीन काल में मीठे फलों के रस से सोमरस का बनाना और आज के युग मे द्राक्षासव आदि पेय पदार्थ बनाना किण्वन क्रिया के द्वारा ही सम्भव है। दैनिक जीवन मे दूध से दही का बनाना और अपच हो जाने पर ऐन्जाइम की गोलियाँ खाना आजकल एक साधारण-सी बात है। यदि गन्ने के रस मे कुछ खमीर डालकर रख दिया जाए तो कुछ दिनों पश्चात् उसमें से बुलबुलो के साथ गैस निकलने लगती है और देखते हैं अब गन्ने का रस सिरके के रूप में बदल गया है। इसी प्रकार दूध तथा गीले आटे का सडना आदि भी किण्वन क्रिया के ही उदाहरण हैं।

खमीर एक विशेष प्रकार का पौधा है। यह एककोशिका का बना होता है और बहुत सूक्ष्म होता है जिसको सूक्ष्मदर्शी की सहायता से देखा जा सकता है। अन्य जीवो की तरह खमीर को भी भोजन की आवश्यकता होती है। खमीर शर्करायुक्त पदार्थों के अपघटन से ऊर्जा प्राप्त करता है। बुक्नर ने १८६७ मे अपने प्रयोगो द्वारा स्पष्ट किया कि किण्वन का अणुजीवो की जीवनसक्रियता से कोई सम्बन्ध नही है और किण्वन अणुजीवो मे उपस्थित सकीर्ण नाइट्रोजनयुक्त पदार्थों द्वारा होता है। ये संकीर्ण नाइट्रोजनयुक्त पदार्थ ऐन्जाइम कहलाते हैं।

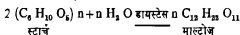
ऐन्जाइम प्रत्येक जीवित प्राणी की कोशिकाओ मे होते है और शरीर मे होने वाली बिभिन्न अभिक्रियाओ मे महत्वपूर्ण भाग लेते हैं। ये पदार्थ वास्तव मे उत्प्रेरक होते है और इसलिए इनको "जीव-रासायनिक उत्प्रेरक" भी कहते हैं।

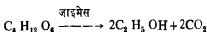
'समनर' तथा 'आइबेक' ने १६५० में बताया कि ऐन्जाइम साधारण या संयुक्त प्रोटीन है जोकि विशिष्ट उत्प्रेरक भी है, अन्य उत्प्रेरक की तरह

ऐन्जाइम परिवर्तनीय रासायनिक साम्य बिन्दु को नही बदलते, वे केवल रासायनिक क्रियाओं को गति को ही प्रभावित करते हैं। एक निश्चित ऐन्जाइम केवल एक विशेष निश्चित पदार्थ को ही प्रभावित करता है और अन्य पदार्थों पर इसका कोई प्रभाव नहीं पडता है।

इसके अतिरिक्त ये अधिक ताप (लगभग ६५° सी) और विषैले पदार्थो (जैसे आरसनिक, बोरिक एसिड, मरकरी आदि) से शीघ्र प्रभावित हो जाते हैं। शरीर के ताप पर जिसे आप्टिमम ताप कहते है, ये अधिक क्रियाशील रहते हैं। बहुत अधिक ताप पर ये अक्रियाशील हो जाते हैं।

सर्वप्रथम १८३० मे वैज्ञानिक डबरूफाट ने जौ को अकुरित करके "माल्ट का सत्व" बनाया जो स्टार्च को माल्टोज नामक शर्करा में परिवर्तित करने मे सक्षम था, उस ऐन्जाइम का नाम डायस्टेस दिया गया।

$$\underset{\text{स्टार्च}}{2\,(C_6\,H_{10}\,O_5)\,n} + n\,H_2\,O \xrightarrow{\text{डायस्टेस}} \underset{\text{माल्टोज}}{n\,C_{12}\,H_{22}\,O_{11}}$$

उसी वर्ष 'डी सासर' ने गेहूँ को अकुरित करके डायस्टेस की तरह का ऐन्जाइम बनाया जो स्टार्च को शर्करा मे परिवर्तित कर देता था। तत्पश्चात् १८५७ मे पाश्चर ने जीवित खमीर के सैलो से शर्करा का ऐल्कोहल मे किण्वन करके दिखाया। इसी प्रकार बुकनर ने १८९७ मे दर्शाया कि खमीर मे उपस्थित दूसरी ऐन्जाइम "जाइमेस" ग्लुकोज् का अपघटन कर एथिल ऐल्कोहल और कार्बन डाईआक्साइड देती है—

$$C_6\,H_{12}\,O_6 \xrightarrow{\text{जाइमेस}} 2C_2\,H_5\,OH + 2CO_2$$

सर्वप्रथम समनर ने १९२६ मे विशुद्ध रूप से 'यूरेज' नामक ऐन्जाइम को अलग किया और सिद्ध किया कि ऐन्जाइम एक प्रोटीनयुक्त जीवाणु है। इसके पश्चात् अनेको वैज्ञानिको ने बहुत से निम्न ऐन्जाइम को ठोस अवस्था मे प्राप्त किया, जैसे—

१. नोरथ्रोप तथा कुटनिट्ज ने १९३६ मे ट्रिपसिन को गाय के पन्क्रियाज से।
२. समनर तथा डोन्स ने १९३७ मे 'काटलेस' को गाय के यकृत से।
३. कुटनिट्ज ने १९४० में आर-एन-ए को गाय के पैन्क्रियाज् से।
४. नोरथ्रोप ने १९४६ मे 'पेप्सीन' को सूरी के आमाशय से।
५. कुटनिट्ज ने १९५० मे डी-एन-ए को गाय के पैन्क्रियाज से।

ऐन्जाइम का वर्गीकरण भी उनके द्वारा प्रतिपादित किये गये विशिष्ट कार्यों के आधार पर किया गया है। जैसे 'आक्सीडोरिडक्टेस' नामक ऐन्जाइम आक्सीकरण तथा अवकरण की क्रियाये करता है। 'हाइड्रोलेसस' नामक ऐन्जाइम हाइड्रोलेसिस करता है और 'लीगेसेस' नामक ऐन्जाइम सश्लेषण की क्रियाये करता है, आदि।

गाय के बछडे के पेट मे ५ से १० ग्राम 'रैनिन' नामक ऐन्जाइम होता है और इस रैनिन (अथवा रिनेट) को प्राप्त करने के लिए दूध पीते हुए मासूम गाय के बछडो का वध किया जाता है। इस प्रकार से प्राप्त रैनिन नामक ऐन्जाइम की सहायता से पनीर बनाया जाता है। यह ऐन्जाइम दूध से प्राप्त हुई केसीन (एक प्रोटीन) को पनीर मे स्कदित कर देता है।

इसी वर्ष एक महिला रसायनशास्त्री ने रैनिन जैसी ऐन्जाइम प्रयोगशाला मे सश्लेषित की है जो पनीर बनाने मे बछडो द्वारा रिनेट (रैनिन) जैसा सफल कार्य करती है, इससे अब आशा होने लगी है कि भविष्य मे अब रिनेट प्राप्त करने हेतु मासूम बछड़ो का वध नही किया जा सकेगा।

संश्लेषित रंगपदार्थों से हानियाँ

—डा० रजनीशदत्त कौशिक
प्रवक्ता, रसायन विभाग
गुरुकुल कांगडी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

पेड-पौधो व जन्तुओ से प्राप्त प्राकृतिक रगपदार्थों का स्थान सन् १८५६ के पश्चात् संश्लेषित पदार्थो ने ले लिया। सन् १८५६ मे तैयार को गयी माउवे नामक सश्लेषित रग के साथ ही संश्लेषित रगो का युग प्रारम्भ हुआ। इसके बाद रोजेनिनिन ब्लू, होफमैन वॉयलेट, मिथाइल-वायलेट, एनिलीन ब्लेक तथा एल्डीहाइड ग्रीन, आदि रगपदार्थ बनाए गए। एजो रगद्रव्य तथा एन्थ्रोक्विनोन रगद्रव्यो को आजकल सेल्यूलोज एसीटेट के रेशो पर गहरे तथा स्थिर रग चढाने के लिए बहुतायत मे प्रयोग किया जाता है। जहाँ एक ओर थैलोसायनिन रजक है, वही दूसरी ओर रेशो से क्रिया करने वाले रंगपदार्थ है, जैसे प्रोकोयन रंग, जो सेल्यूलोज से बन्ध बनाते हैं तथा जिनकी स्थिरता व वॉश गुण भी बेहतर है।

भारत मे रासायनिक उद्योगों द्वारा ३०० से भी अधिक रगद्रव्य बनाए जाते हैं। कपडा उद्योग के विकास के साथ-साथ विभिन्न प्रकार के संश्लेषित रंगद्रव्यों की माँग बढी है। साथ ही साथ इस रंगद्रव्य उद्योग मे कार्यरत कर्मियो को रंगो के विषैले प्रभाव का सामना करना पड रहा है। यह इस कारण कि वे रंगो तथा उनके निर्माण हेतु प्रयोग किए जाने वाले रसायनों के सम्पर्क में आते हैं। साथ ही उक्त उद्योगकर्मियो के अतिरिक्त सामान्य जन के लिए भी यह रंग-पदार्थ हानिकारक हैं।

संश्लेषित रंगउद्योगो मे कार्यरत व्यक्ति सबसे अधिक डर्मेटाइटिस नामक बीमारी से ग्रस्त रहते हैं। विशेष रूप से कैलिको मुद्रण, फर उद्योग तथा चमडा उद्योगों के कर्मी इस बीमारी का शिकार होते हैं। साथ ही शीघ्र सूखने वाले पेन्ट्स, वार्निश तथा खाद्यसामग्रो को रंगीन बनाने में प्रयुक्त रंग आदि से डर्मेटाइटिस जन्म लेती है। फिनाइलीन डाइएमीन, यूरोसोल तथा बहुत से फोटो-टाक्सिक पदार्थों से एक्जीमा, चेहरे, गर्दन तथा अग्र भुजा पर दाग हो जाते हैं। फर्नीचर पॉलिश करने वाले व्यक्तियों की त्वचा का लाल रंग का हो जाना भी

ऐसा ही एक प्रभाव है। इन पदार्थों की त्वचा से क्रिया होने पर त्वचा में खारिश, जलन, लाल हो जाना, सूखापन, रंगीन धब्बे पडना, खुरदरापन, आदि हो जाता है।

रंग उद्योग मे कार्यरत व्यक्तियो को कैंसर होने की सम्भावना रहती है। यहाँ तक कि एक व्यक्ति को सेवाकाल पूर्ण हो जाने के कुछ वर्षों बाद भी कैंसर हो सकता है। क्योंकि इस प्रकार के कैंसर का गुप्त समय (लेटेन्ट पीरियड) ५ से २५ वर्ष का है। बीटा नेप्थाइलएमीन, बैन्जिडीन, एन्थ्रेसीन, आदि को अधिकतर रंगनिर्माण में प्रयोग किया जाता है। यह सभी कैंसरउत्पादक रसायन माने जाते हैं।

क्रोम रंगउद्योगकर्मियो मे फेफडो का कैंसर तथा एजो रगउद्योगकर्मियो मे यकृत का कैंसर इन्ही पदार्थों व रगों के कारण होता है। शोधकार्यों से पता चला है कि मूत्राशय का कैंसर एनिलीन रगो तथा इनके निर्माण के लिए प्रयुक्त रसायनो, जैसे एनिलीन, पेरा टोल्यूडीन, जाइलिडीन्स, फशिन, बैन्जिडीन, रोजेनिलीन व नेप्थाइल एमीन, आदि के कारण होता है। बीटा नेप्थाइलएमीन से मूत्राशय में ट्यूमर बनने की सम्भावना रहती है। रबड़ उद्योग तथा बिजली के केबिल बनाने वाले उद्योगो के कर्मियो मे भी मूत्राशय का कैंसर पाया जाता है। क्योंकि इन उद्योगो मे रबड़ का आक्सीकरण रोकने हेतु प्रयुक्त रसायनो (जैसे फ्री नेप्थाइलएमीन) का प्रयोग किया जाता है।

डर्मेटाइटिस तथा कैंसर के अतिरिक्त सश्लेषित रगो से, इन्हे प्रयोग करने वाले व्यक्तियो तथा उद्योगकर्मियो को अन्य बहुत-सी बीमारियाँ हो सकती है, जैसे उल्टियाँ आना, डाइसपेप्सिया, गेस्ट्राइटिस, कन्वल्शन्स, स्प्लीनोमीगेली, डिजिनेस, ब्रोन्काइटिस, एनीमिया, सायनोसिस, जॉन्डिस, एस्थमा, लीवर नीक्रोसिस आदि।

उक्त बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए, रग उद्योगो को सामान्य औद्योगिक चेतावनियो के अलावा निम्नलिखित विशेष बचाव के उपाय करने चाहिएँ .

१— रंगनिर्माण कक्ष में एक्जास्ट सुविधा होनी चाहिए एव एसिडप्रूफ फर्श होने चाहिए जिन्हे विभिन्न प्रकार की क्रियाओ के पश्चात् अवश्य धोना चाहिए।

२— सफाई, स्नान आदि का पूर्ण प्रबन्ध फैक्टरी मे ही होना चाहिए।

३— कर्मियों को पूरी पतलून, पूरी बाँहों की कमाज, लम्ब जूते व दस्ताने प्रयोग करने चाहिये।

४— रंग-सचय के लिए बने हुए पात्र लकड़ी के न होकर स्टील के हो।

५— ऐसे रासायनिक पदार्थ प्रयोग किए जायें जो कम केसर उत्पादक हैं। बेन्जिडीन को इसके साल्ट के रूप में तथा नमी वाले कक्ष मे प्रयोग किया जाना चाहिए।

६— कैसर उत्पादक रसायनो का प्रयोग करते समय कर्मियो को चेहरे पर मास्क का प्रयोग करना चाहिए।

७— कर्मियों की पूर्ण व उचित डाक्टरी जाँच समय-समय पर की जाए।

८— रंग उद्योग के वेस्ट पदार्थों को भली-भाँति रीप्रोसेस किया जाए।

साथ ही यह भी ध्यान देने योग्य है कि कपड़ों, पेन्ट्स, वार्निश तथा पिगमेन्ट्स को प्रयोग करने वाले व्यक्ति भी इन रंगो के सम्पर्क मे आते हैं। यदि इन रगद्रव्यो को उचित रूप से शुद्ध नही किया जाता तो उसमे अशुद्धि के रूप मे वह रसायन रह जाते हैं जिनका प्रयोग रंगनिर्माण मे किया गया हो तथा जो रगो से भी अधिक हानिकारक हैं। पूर्णरूप से हानिरहित रंगो का प्रयोग ही इनसे होने वाली हानि को रोक सकता है।

अन्तरिक्ष अनुसन्धान और भारत की उपलब्धियाँ

(२१ अक्टूबर १९८६ को आकाशवाणी नजीबाबाद से प्रसारित वार्ता पर आधारित)

—डा० पी०पी० पाठक
भौतिकविज्ञान विभाग
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

अन्तरिक्ष का तात्पर्य है वह सभी रिक्त स्थान जो पृथ्वी की सतह से ऊपर विद्यमान है। अनुसन्धान के कुछ कार्यों के लिए पृथ्वी के वायुमण्डल को छोड़कर शेष रिक्त स्थान को ही अन्तरिक्ष मानते हैं। परन्तु क्योंकि अन्तरिक्ष की लगभग सभी गतिविधियों का प्रभाव किसी न किसी रूप में वायुमण्डल पर पड़ता ही है अथवा अन्तरिक्ष के निरीक्षणों को वायुमण्डल प्रभावित करता है, अतः इन दोनों को अलग-अलग नहीं किया जा सकता है। अब अन्तरिक्ष अनुसंधान के अन्तर्गत पृथ्वी और उसके वायुमण्डल के बाहर के पिण्डों, विकिरणों तथा अन्य गतिविधियों का अध्ययन, उसमें होने वाले परिवर्तनों तथा पृथ्वी और उसके वायुमण्डल में इनके प्रभावों का अध्ययन किया जाता है। यह अध्ययन तीन प्रकार से किया जा सकता है :

१—पृथ्वी पर ही कुछ उपकरणों की सहायता से निरीक्षण करके,

२—गुब्बारे, राकेट या उपग्रह में कुछ उपकरण भेजकर, उनके द्वारा भेजे गए सन्देशों को पृथ्वी पर स्थित उपकरणों द्वारा प्राप्त करके, तथा

३—गुब्बारे, राकेट या उपग्रह से ही उपकरणों द्वारा निरीक्षण करके।

इस अन्तिम विधि का प्रयोग तब किया जाता है जब राकेट, उपग्रह या गुब्बारे को पृथ्वी पर सुरक्षित वापिस लाया जा सके और इस स्थिति में उपकरणों को चलाने के लिए अथवा कुछ अन्य निरीक्षणों के लिए व्यक्तियों को भी भेज दिया जाता है।

अन्तरिक्ष अनुसन्धान के विषय, उद्देश्य तथा उपयोग अनेक है। हालांकि अनुसन्धान के कुछ विषयों का कभी-कभी प्रत्यक्ष उपयोग नहीं मालूम पड़ता है

परन्तु कुछ समय पश्चात् उनका प्रत्यक्ष उपयोग मानवता को भलाई के लिए निकल ही आता है। बिना किसी उपकरण को अन्तरिक्ष में भेजे हुए पृथ्वी की सतह से निरीक्षणों पर आधारित अनुसन्धानों का बहुत अधिक प्रत्यक्ष उपयोग न हो सका क्योंकि दूरी और समय दोनों की दृष्टि से इसकी निश्चित सीमाएँ हैं। अतः गुब्बारों व राकेटों का प्रयोग आवश्यक-सा हो गया। इनसे मौसम विज्ञान, एस्ट्रोनामी और एस्ट्रोफिजिक्स के क्षेत्र में आगे के अन्वेषणों के लिए महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धियों के अतिरिक्त मानवता के प्रत्यक्ष उपयोग के लिए मौसम की जानकारी तथा भविष्यवाणी भी सम्भव हो सकी। राकेटों का प्रयोग भी वायुमण्डल में केवल कुछ सौ किमी० की ऊँचाई तक ही सीमित रहा तथा वे वायुमण्डल में अधिक समय तक रुक नहीं सकते थे। अतः जैसे-जैसे आवश्यकतायें बढ़ती गयी, वैज्ञानिकों ने उपग्रह के उपयोग के बारे में विचार किया। उपग्रह को एक निश्चित कक्षा में स्थापित कर मौसम की सीधी जानकारी प्राप्त करने के साथ-साथ पृथ्वी पर उपस्थित वनों, झीलों तथा नदियों की स्थितियों एवं पृथ्वी के अन्दर के खनिज पदार्थों की जानकारी भी सम्भव हो सकी। इसके अतिरिक्त दूरसंचार व्यवस्था में रेडियो, टेलीविजन व टेलीफोन आदि की सुचारु व सुदूर सेवा सम्भव हो सकी।

बड़े-बड़े अन्तरिक्ष अभियानों का उद्देश्य पृथ्वी के अतिरिक्त अन्य ग्रहों के बारे में जानकारी प्राप्त करना तथा पृथ्वी के अतिरिक्त सम्भावित जीवन की खोज करना भी है। रूस और अमेरिका के अन्तरिक्ष अभियानों ने मानव के कदम चन्द्रमा पर पहुँचा दिए हैं। अनेक अन्तरिक्षयात्रियों द्वारा अन्तरिक्ष की सैर तथा पृथ्वी के चारों ओर शून्य में घूमना भी सम्भव हो सका है। मंगल ग्रह पर मानवरहित अन्तरिक्षयान वाइकिंग उतर चुका है। अमरीकी अन्तरिक्षयान एक्सप्लोरर को लक्ष्यहीन अन्तरिक्ष में छोड़ दिया गया है जिससे ब्रह्माण्ड में यदि कहीं जीवन इस रूप में विद्यमान हो तो, इस यान में रखी गई पृथ्वी की सभ्यता की वस्तुओं को देखकर अन्य ग्रहों के निवासी यहाँ के बारे में जान लें तथा यहाँ पहुँचने का प्रयास कर सकें।

अन्तरिक्ष अनुसंधान का एक दूसरा विध्वंसात्मक पहलू भी है जो युद्ध में इसके उपयोग से जुड़ा हुआ है। अमेरिका और रूस जैसी महाशक्तियों ने अन्तरिक्ष तकनीक का प्रयोग करके ऐसे-ऐसे हथियार बना लिए हैं जिनके प्रयोग से कुछ ही पलों में पृथ्वी से मानवता का नाम ही मिट सकता है।

राकेट द्वारा अन्तरिक्ष अनुसन्धान का प्रारम्भ इस शताब्दी के मध्य में हुआ जब २४ फरवरी १९४९ को पहला राकेट २५० मील की ऊँचाई तक उड़

सका था। इसके पश्चात् राकेट तकनीक में इतनी शीघ्रता से प्रगति हुई कि लगभग साढे आठ वर्ष बाद अक्टूबर १९५७ मे पहला कृत्रिम उपग्रह, राकेट द्वारा रूसी वैज्ञानिको ने पृथ्वी की कक्षा मे स्थापित कर दिया। इसके बाद पृथ्वी के चारो ओर कृत्रिम उपग्रहो की झडी-सी लग गई। रूस व अमेरिका द्वारा अनेक उपग्रह छोडे जाने लगे और उनकी सहायता से विभिन्न अनुसधान कार्य किए गए। १३ अप्रैल १९५९ को प्रथम बार मानवरहित रूसी अन्तरिक्षयान ल्यूनिक-२ चन्द्रमा की सतह पर उतरा। १२ अप्रैल १९६१ को प्रथम मानव रूस के यूरी गागरिन पृथ्वी की कक्षा मे घूमे १९ जुलाई १९६९ को प्रथम मानव अमेरिका के नील आर्मस्ट्राग ने चन्द्रमा पर कदम रखे। उसके पश्चात् अमरीका ने कुछ ऐसे अन्तरिक्षयान बनाये जो कई बार अन्तरिक्ष मे जाकर पृथ्वी पर वापिस सुरक्षित उतर सकते थे। परन्तु दुर्भाग्यवश २८ जनवरी १९८६ को एक उडान के दौरान चैलेजर (जो इनमे से एक था) मे विस्फोट हो गया और यान ध्वस्त होकर समुद्र मे जा गिरा। इस दर्दनाक दुर्घटना से न केवल अमरीका, अपितु सारे विश्व के अन्तरिक्ष अभियानो को धक्का लगा और अन्तरिक्ष अनुसधान की गति धीमी पड गई।

भारत मे अन्तरिक्ष पर व्यक्तिगत रूप से कुछ वैज्ञानिक बहुत पहले से ही अनुसंधान कार्य कर रहे थे परन्तु सामूहिक रूप से राष्ट्रीयस्तर पर इसकी शुरुआत १९६२ मे इण्डियन नेशनल कमेटी फार स्पेस रिसर्च की स्थापना से मानी जा सकती है। २१ नवम्बर १९६३ को प्रथम बार त्रिवेन्द्रम के पास थुम्बा से राकेट छोडा गया। परन्तु यह राकेट तथा इसके अधिकतर उपकरण विदेशी थे। १९६५ मे फ्रासीसी राकेट मे भारतीय उपकरण रखकर थुम्बा से छोडा गया। १९६६ में इसी प्रकार एक अन्य राकेट छोडा गया। इन प्रयोगो का न केवल वैज्ञानिक निरीक्षणो के लिए उपयोग किया गया बल्कि राकेट तकनीक की भी जानकारी प्राप्त की गई और २० नवम्बर १९६७ को प्रथम बार पूर्ण रूप से भारत मे बना राकेट रोहिणी-७५ सफलतापूर्वक छोडा गया जिसके मोटर का व्यास ७५ मिमी० था। इसी वर्ष की एक और महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि थी जापान व आस्ट्रेलिया के साथ उपग्रह के द्वारा दूरदर्शन सम्पर्क का सफल परीक्षण। अब राकेट तकनीक में सुधार की तरफ ध्यान दिया गया। इसका प्रमुख उद्देश्य था अधिक से अधिक भारी पेलोड को अधिक से अधिक ऊँचाई तक पहुँचाने के लिए अधिक शक्तिशाली इन्जिन तथा कम वजन का राकेट बनाना। १९६९ मे भारतीय अन्तरिक्ष अनुसन्धान सस्थान को स्थापना से इन अन्तरिक्ष कार्यक्रमो को नई दिशा मिली। एक तरफ उपग्रहो का निर्माण तथा उनका परीक्षण और अध्ययन विदेशी राकेटो द्वारा उन्हे निर्धारित कक्षा मे पहुँचा कर किया जाता रहा और दूसरी तरफ राकेट तकनीक के अध्ययन व परीक्षण के लिए नए-नए राकेट छोडे जाने लगे। साथ ही इन राकेटों मे विभिन्न वैज्ञानिक उपकरणो को

भेजकर निरोक्षण भी किए जाते रहे जिनसे कई महत्वपूर्ण जानकारियाँ प्राप्त हुईं जिनको चर्चा अन्त मे करेंगे।

उपग्रहनिर्माण में सफलता के फलस्वरूप १९ अप्रैल १९७५ को प्रथम भारतीय उपग्रह आर्यभट्ट सोवियत राकेट से उनके ही कास्मोड्रोम से ६०० कि० मी० की लगभग वृत्ताकार कक्षा मे स्थापित किया गया। फिर ७ जून १९७९ को भास्कर-१ तथा २० नवम्बर को १९८१ को भास्कर-२ वही से दीर्घवृत्तीय कक्षाओ मे स्थापित किए गए। १९ जून १९८१ को 'एपल' यूरोपियन अन्तरिक्ष एजेन्सी के ऐरिएन राकेट द्वारा भेजा गया। इन सब उपग्रहो से कई परीक्षण व वैज्ञानिक निरीक्षण के साथ-साथ दूरसंचार व दूरदर्शन के भी कुछ उपयोग किए गए। इस उपग्रह तकनीक का उपयोग करके भारतीय राष्ट्रीय उपग्रह प्रणाली की पहली पीढ़ी 'इनसेट-१' का कार्यक्रम बनाया गया। इस बहुउद्देश्यीय प्रणाली का उपयोग देश की आन्तरिक दूरसंचार व्यवस्था, मौसम, वैज्ञानिक निरीक्षणों, देश के ग्रामीण क्षेत्रो मे कम्युनिटि दूरदर्शन के लिए सीधे प्रसारण, तथा देश के सभी प्रसारण केन्द्रो के लिए रेडियो व दूरदर्शन के कार्यक्रमो के वितरण के लिए किया जा रहा है। इनसेट-१ए के सफल परीक्षण के बाद इनसेट-१बी अगस्त १९८३ मे कक्षा मे भेजा गया था और अक्टूबर के प्रथम सप्ताह मे इसने पूरी तरह कार्य करना शुरु कर दिया था। तब से यह लगातार ठीक तरह से कार्य कर रहा है। इनसेट-१सी के छोडे जाने के बाद यह प्रणाली पूरी होगी। पहले इसे चैलेंजर द्वारा छोडे जाने का कार्यक्रम २७ सितम्बर १९८६ को था। चैलेंजर के नष्ट हो जाने के कारण इसमे बाधा पड गई है। अब इसे सोवियत राकेट द्वारा छोडे जाने की घोषणा की गई है जिसका अभी समय निश्चित नही किया गया है।

दूसरी तरफ राकेट तकनीक मे भी सफलता प्राप्त हुई है। १८ जुलाई १९८० को प्रथम बार भारतीय राकेट SLV-3 द्वारा ३५ किग्रा० के उपग्रह RS-1 को अण्डाकार कक्षा मे स्थापित करने मे सफलता मिली। इसके पश्चात् अधिक वजन के उपग्रह छोडे गए और अब भारत स्वय उपग्रह छोडने मे सक्षम हो चुका है। इनसेट-१ प्रणाली को भविष्य मे अधिक उन्नत द्वितीय पीढी की इनसेट-२ प्रणाली से बदलने का कार्यक्रम बनाया जा चुका है। इन उपग्रहो को श्री हरिकोटा से भारतीय राकेटो द्वारा छोड़ा जाएगा। हालाकि ASLV-3 की विफलता से एक और रुकावट सामने आ गई है परन्तु फिर भी वह दिन दूर नही जब पूर्णतया भारत मे बने उपग्रह भारतीय राकेटो द्वारा भारत की जमीन से छोडे जायेंगे।

समानव अन्तरिक्ष उड़ान के क्षेत्र में भी हमारे देश ने रूस के सहयोग से

कुछ सफलता प्राप्त कर ली है। ३ अप्रल १९८४ को प्रथम भारतीय अन्तरिक्ष यात्री स्क्वाड्रन लीडर राकेश शर्मा रूसी अन्तरिक्षयान सोयूज T-11 द्वारा अन्तरिक्ष मे गए और उन्होंने वहाँ ६ अप्रैल को रिमोट सेंसिंग के Terra प्रयोग और Material Processing पर तथा कुछ Physiological प्रयोग किए। टेरा प्रयोगो के परिणामो से भूगर्भ विज्ञान मे sand dunes, salt pans, mud flats, mangroves turbidity, silting pattern तथा समुद्री किनारो की मैपिंग के बारे मे तथा गुजरात, पश्चिमो घाट तथा कर्नाटक के वनों के बारे मे महत्वपूर्ण जानकारी मिलने की आशा है।

जैसा कि ऊपर कहा जा चुका है कि राकेट तकनीक के परीक्षण के दौरान तथा उपग्रहो द्वारा अनेक वैज्ञानिक निरीक्षण किए गए। इनसे पृथ्वी और उसके पर्यावरण के बारे मे तथा एस्ट्रोनामी व एस्ट्रोफिजिक्स के क्षेत्र मे महत्वपूर्ण जानकारियाँ प्राप्त हुईं। इनमे से प्रमुख निम्न हैं.

१—मौसम की भविष्यवाणी तथा आंधी-तूफान की चेतावनी ,जो मानव के प्रत्यक्ष प्रयोग के लिए है।

२—वायुमण्डल मे रासायनिक अभिक्रियाओं द्वारा ओजोन फार्मेशन तथा उसके द्वारा सौर विकिरण के हानिकारक भाग के अवशोषण के बारे मे।

३—सौर विकिरण मे परिवर्तन, ताप, दाब व आर्द्रता मे परिवर्तन तथा प्रदूषण के बारे मे।

४—आयोनोस्फीयर की कई महत्वपूर्ण प्रक्रियायें और उनका रेडियो प्रसारण पर प्रभाव।

५—Solar spots, solar carona, solar atmosphere और उसमे oscillations, solar x-ray, astronomy, solar wind तथा सूर्य के चुम्बकीय क्षेत्र के बारे मे।

६—सौर मण्डल में पाए जाने वाले कई कॉमेटो के बारे मे विस्तृत जानकारी।

७—अन्य ग्रहो तथा उनके वायुमण्डल मे होने वाली घटनाओ के बारे मे।

८—पृथ्वी पर गिरी हुई उल्काओं तथा चन्द्रमा से अपोलो द्वारा लाई गई चट्टानों के अध्ययन से कास्मिक किरणों तथा चन्द्रमा पर पाए जाने वाले तत्वों की जानकारी।

९—अन्तरिक्ष में कास्मिक किरणों की ऊर्जा व उनके अन्य गुणधर्म, पृथ्वी के वायुमण्डल पर उनका प्रभाव तथा सूर्यजनित परिवर्तन (solar modulation) की जानकारी।

१०—एक्स-रे एस्ट्रोनामी, गामा-रे एस्ट्रानामी तथा रेडियो एस्ट्रानामो सम्बन्धित निरीक्षणो से अन्तरिक्ष की विभिन्न गतिविधियो तथा आकाशीय पिण्डो के बारे में महत्वपूर्ण जानकारी।

इस प्रकार अन्तरिक्ष अनुसन्धान के क्षेत्र में हमारे देश ने चहुँमुखो प्रगति की है। राकेट तकनीक, उपग्रह निर्माण व राष्ट्रीय सार्वजनिक कार्यों के लिए उनके उपयोग मे हमारा देश आत्मनिर्भरता प्राप्त कर ही चुका है। साथ ही उनसे प्राप्त वैज्ञानिक निरीक्षणो से अनुसन्धान मे भी आत्मनिर्भर हुआ है। निकटभविष्य मे इसके कई उपयोगो की आशा की जा सकती है।

हिमालय पर्यावरण शोध योजना के अन्तर्गत—

मोटाढाक (कोटद्वार : पौड़ीगढ़वाल) क्षेत्र का सामाजिक-आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण

—प्रो० बी० डी० जोशी, निदेशक
एवं
विनीत शर्मा, कनिष्ठ शोध छात्र
हिमालय पर्यावरण शोध योजना
जन्तुविज्ञान विभाग
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय हरिद्वार

भूमिका—

हिमालय को तलहटी में, कोटद्वार–दुगड्डीचौड मार्ग पर जनपद पौडो गढवाल में मोटाढाक (भाबर) एक छोटा-सा कस्बाई क्षेत्र है। यूँ तो सामाजिक-आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण लगभग ८-१० गावो का किया गया है किन्तु मोटाढाक का नाम सर्वोपरि इसलिए है कि यह सडक के एकदम किनारे बसा मुख्य क्षेत्र है। इसी कस्बे मे इन्दिरा प्रियदर्शिनो इण्टर कालिज है। इस क्षेत्र के छोटे-छोटे प्रत्येक गाव मे लगभग १०-१५ परिवार रहते है। घर तथा खेत दोनो लगभग पास-पास होते है।

मोटाढाक, मवाकोट, पदमपुर, नन्दपुर, गोरखपुर, कोटला इत्यादि गाव लगभग एक रेखा मे व नहर के किनारे बसे हुए हैं। मोटाढाक से लगभग ५ कि० मी० ऊपर मालिनी नदी का पानी रोक कर दो नहरे निकाली गयी है। एक नहर तो मोटाढाक क्षेत्र को पानी देती है व दूसरी नहर कलालघाटी क्षेत्र मे जाती है। यहा पीने, नहाने व कपड़े धोने, मवेशियो को पिलाने व सिंचाई मे प्रयुक्त जल इन्ही नहरो द्वारा लिया जाता है।

यह क्षेत्र अत्यन्त ऐतिहासिक महत्व का भी है। मोटाढाक से लगभग ४ कि० मी० उत्तर-पूर्वी दिशा मे तीन ओर से पर्वतों से घिरा हुआ कण्वऋषि का आश्रम जो कि 'कण्वाश्रम' के नाम से जाना जाता है, भी यही है। कहते

है इसी स्थान पर शकुन्तला का गान्धर्व विवाह हस्तिनापुर के महाराज दुष्यन्त से हुआ था। तथा उनके पुत्र राजकुमार भरत, जो कि प्रकृति के इन्ही अंचलो मे खेला करता था, के नाम पर हमारे देश का नाम भारतवर्ष पडा। मोटाढाक क्षेत्र के इन गांवों मे अधिकतर लोग राजपूत है। इनका मुख्य पेशा कृषि है। अधिकांश लोग गरीबी रेखा से नीचे का जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे है। इतना होते हुए भी साक्षरता निरन्तर बढ रही है। परिवार नियोजन के सक्रिय न होने के कारण जनसंख्या बढ रही है। ग्राम के लगभग १०८ परिवारो का जिनमें राजपूतो व ब्राह्मणो का बाहुल्य है, सर्वेक्षण किया गया, जो कि गरीबी व अमीरी के अन्तर्द्वन्द को प्रदर्शित करता है।

चूंकि ये ग्राम-अंचल हमारे कार्यक्षेत्र के अन्तर्गत आते हैं, अत इनका सामाजिक-आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण किया गया।

निरीक्षण व परिणाम—

लगभग १५०० जनसख्या वाले इस संयुक्त ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के १०८ परिवारों का हर दृष्टिकोण को ध्यान मे रखते हुए सामाजिक-आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण किया गया। इस सर्वेक्षण मे ग्रामवासियो के परिवार, परिवारजनों की संख्या, परिवार मे पुरुषो व महिलाओ की संख्या, आयु का विवरण, सन्तानउत्पादकता का विवरण, शिक्षा, व्यवसाय, मासिक आय, परिवार व गांव की मुख्य आवश्यकताओ (बिजली, पानी), जाति, जमीन, पशुधन, व्यय, खाद्यसामग्री आदि के बारे मे पूछा गया तथा ग्रामवासियो के इनके सम्बन्ध मे विचार लिये गये। अध्ययन के दौरान कई मुख्य बाते मालूम हुई जो निम्नवत् है :-

१. परिवार का माप

गाव के १०८ परिवारो की जनसख्या ६७६ है। जिनम ३९८ पुरुष व २७८ महिलाएं है। अतः गांव के एक परिवार की औसत सदस्य सख्या ६.२५ प्रतिशत आती है, जोकि आज के समय में अधिक है। अधिकाश परिवारो मे औसतन ५-८ तक सदस्य है। ऐसे परिवारो को सख्या ८९ (८२.४० प्रतिशत) है। दूसरे भाग में १-४ तक सदस्य है, ऐसे परिवार कुल १२ (११.११ प्रतिशत) हैं। वर्तमान समय में ऐसे परिवार उत्तम है। गाव के तीसरे भाग में ७ (६.४८ प्रतिशत) परिवार ऐसे हैं, जिनमे सदस्यो की सख्या ९-११ तक है (तालिका-१) आधुनिक समय मे ऐसे परिवार बहुत बडे परिवार कहलाते है।

२. आयु का विवरण

१३ से २१ वर्ष तक की आयु के सदस्यों की संख्या सर्वाधिक २३४ (३४.६१ प्रतिशत) है। इनमे १४५ (३६ ४३ प्रतिशत) लडके तथा ८६(३२.०१ प्रतिशत) लडकियाँ हैं। गाव का दूसरा बडा भाग २२ से ३५ वर्ष तक की वय के सदस्यो का है। इस आयुवर्ग मे १४६ (२२ ०४ प्रतिशत) व्यक्ति है, जिनमे ६४ (२३.६१ प्रतिशत) पुरुष तथा ५५ (१६.७८ प्रतिशत) महिलाएँ है। तीसरे वर्ग मे ११२ (१६ ५६ प्रतिशत) सदस्य ३६ से ५० वर्ष की आयु के है। इनमे ५२ (१३ ०६ प्रतिशत) पुरुष व ६० (२१ ५८ प्रतिशत) महिलाएँ है।

चौथे भाग मे ६ वर्ष से लेकर १२ वर्ष तक के कुल ६५ (१४·०५ प्रतिशत) सदस्य आते हैं, जिनमे ५२ (१३ ०६ प्रतिशत) लडके व ४३ (१५ ४६ प्रतिशत) लडकियां हैं। पाचवे भाग मे ५१ (७ ५४ प्रतिशत) सदस्य हैं जो कि ५१ से ६५ वर्ष तक के आयुवर्ग मे आते हैं। इनमे ३६ (६·७६ प्रतिशत) पुरुष व १२ (४ ३१ प्रतिशत) स्त्रिया हैं। छठे भाग मे ५ वर्ष तक के सदस्य आते है, जिनकी कुल सख्या २८ (४·१४ प्रतिशत) है। इनमे १२ (३·०१ प्रतिशत) लडके व १६ (५·७५ प्रतिशत) लडकिया हैं। सातवे व अन्तिम भाग में ६६ वर्ष से लेकर ६० वर्ष तक के कुल ७ (१·०३ प्रतिशत) सदस्य हैं, जिनमे ४ (१ प्रतिशत) पुरुष व ३ (१·०७ प्रतिशत) स्त्रिया है (तालिका-२)। उपरोक्त आकडो से विदित होता है कि गांव मे ६६-६० वर्ष की आयु के वृद्धो व ०-५ वर्ष तक की वय के बच्चों की संख्या न्यूनतम है। ५ वर्ष तक की आयु के कुल २८ (४·१४ प्रतिशत) बच्चे हैं, जो कि वर्तमान स्थितियो मे सीमित परिवारो के प्रति सामान्य सजगता को इंगित करते हैं। गांव मे ३६ वर्ष से ६० वर्ष तक की आयु के १५४ सदस्य है, जिनमे ८५ पुरुष व ६६ महिलाएँ है तथा नई पीढी मे १ से ३५ वर्ष तक के सदस्यो की सख्या ५०६ है, जिनमे ३०३ पुरुष व २०३ महिलाएँ हैं। अत पुरानी पीढी (ख) व नयी पीढी (क) मे १ . ३ २८ का अनुपात है। हम देखते हैं कि वर्तमान समय मे सन्तान उत्पादकता की दर सामान्य है (तालिका-३)।

३. शिक्षा का विवरण

१०८ परिवारों के ६७६ सदस्यों मे से १२० (१७·७५ प्रतिशत) व्यक्ति अशिक्षित हैं। जिनमें २७ पुरुष, ५६ महिलाएँ, १४ लडके व २० लडकिया हैं। प्राईमरी तक २२४ (३३ १३ प्रतिशत) व्यक्ति साक्षर है, जिनमे ३८ पुरुष व २१ महिलाएँ, व शेष लडके-लड़किया हैं। कक्षा ६ से १० तक

१६१ व्यक्ति शिक्षित हैं, जिनमें २५ पुरुष, ६ स्त्रिया, ७६ लडके व ५१ लडकियाँ हैं (तालिका-४)।

१५५ (२२ ६२ प्रतिशत) सदस्य कक्षा ११ से बी०ए० (स्नातक) तक शिक्षा प्राप्त हैं, जिनमे २३ पुरुष, ७ महिलाएँ, ७५ लडके व ५० लड़कियाँ हैं। स्नातकोत्तर तक १६ (२'३६ प्रतिशत) सदस्य है, जिसमे १२ (६ ६ प्रतिशत) पुरुष व ४ (४ प्रतिशत) महिलाएँ हैं (तालिका-४)। उपर्युक्त आकडो से प्रतीत होता है कि अधिकाश लोग पढे लिखे हैं। स्नातको की सख्या काफी है व १६ सदस्य स्नातकोत्तर भी है। यद्यपि ग्राम में कोई महाविद्यालय नही है, और निकटतम महाविद्यालय इस क्षेत्र से लगभग १० कि०मी० दूर है। मोटाढाक मे मात्र एक इन्टर कालेज तथा दो-तीन प्राईमरी पाठशालाएँ है, इससे सिद्ध होता है कि शिक्षा की ओर जागरूकता बढी है।

४. रोजगार

यहाँ के लोगो का मुख्य पेशा कृषि है। कृषि के लिए जमीन बहुत कम है। कृषि के साथ-साथ काफी व्यक्ति आशिक मजदूरी भी करते हैं। स्वरोजगार बहुत कम है। कृषि के योग्य भूमि अधिक उपजाऊ नही है। गेहूँ व धान यहाँ की मुख्य फसले है। गाव वाले अपने भरण-पोषण लायक फसले ही उगा पाते है। गाव के सर्वेक्षित ६७६ (जो कि १०८ परिवारो के हैं) व्यक्तियो मे से सर्वाधिक ६६ (४६'७५ प्रतिशत) व्यक्ति कृषि करते है, इसके बाद ४३ (२२ २७ प्रतिशत) व्यक्ति सरकारी, अर्द्धसरकारी व प्राईवेट नौकरियो मे है। २८ (१४ ५० प्रतिशत) लोग खेतोहर मजदूर है। १५ (७'७७ प्रतिशत) लोग भूतपूर्व सैनिक हैं तथा सबसे कम ११ (५ ६६ प्रतिशत) व्यक्तियो का अपना रोजगार है। गाव के ६६ परिवार जो कि कृषि मे लगे है, उनमे तीन-चौथाई लोगो के पास नाम-मात्र की जमीन है तथा रोजगार के अभाव मे ये व्यक्ति इसी कृषि से जुड गये है (तालिका-५)।

५. मासिक आय

सवक्षण से पता चलता है कि इस गांव के व्यक्ति गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे का जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे है। सर्वेक्षित १०८ परिवारो मे से ६८ परिवार नियमित मासिक आय पाते हैं। गाव की प्रति परिवार औसत मासिक आय रु० ३२६ ०८ है। तथा गाव के प्रति व्यक्ति की औसत मासिक आय रु० ५२ ६६ पैसे है, जो कि गरीबी रेखा से नीचे स्पष्ट प्रकट होती है।

गांव मे मासिक आय १ रुपया से ३५० रुपया तक के ६४ परिवार हैं, इन परिवारो की प्रति व्यक्ति औसत मासिक आय रु० ३२-३० है। ३५१ रुपये से लेकर १,००० रुपये की आय तक के ३० परिवार हैं, इनमे प्रतिव्यक्ति औसत मासिक आय रु० ७६-४३ है। तीसरे भाग मे रु० १००१ से लेकर रु० १५०० तक मासिक आय वाले मात्र ४ परिवार है। इसे हम इस क्षेत्र का समृद्ध वर्ग कह सकते हैं। यहाँ प्रतिव्यक्ति औसत मासिक आय रु० २५२-२८ है (तालिका-६)। अत. यह स्पष्ट है कि ग्रामवासी आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण से काफी नीचे हैं। जिससे उनके रहन-सहन, स्वास्थ्य व खाने-पीने आदि का स्तर प्रभावित होना स्वाभाविक है।

६. परिवार-गांव की प्राथमिक मुख्य आवश्यकताएँ

यद्यपि गाव वालो की आर्थिक स्थिति काफी निम्न है, फिर भी उनकी आवश्यकताएँ अद्भुत हैं। १५ (५·४३ प्रतिशत) सदस्यो ने टेलीफोन सुविधा की माग की है। एक परिवार ऐसा भी है जो गाव मे सगीत क्लब चाहता है। इससे यह प्रतीत होता है, या तो कुछ गाव वाले अपनी प्राथमिकताओ का ठीक से विश्लेषण नही कर सकते या वे अपने बहुमुखी विकास की ओर अग्रसर है। प्राप्त आकडो के अनुसार परिवार व गाव की प्राथमिक आवश्यकताए निम्न प्रकार हैं—

ग्राम्य प्राथमिकताओ मे पेयजल सर्वोपरि है ५३ (१९·२० प्रतिशत), तदुपरान्त सिचाई ३६ (१३·०४ प्रतिशत), रोजगार २६ (९·४२ प्रतिशत), मकान ८ (२·८९ प्रतिशत), बिजली २४ (८·६९ प्रतिशत), पक्की सडकें ४० (१४·४९ प्रतिशत), चिकित्सालय २५ (९·०५ प्रतिशत), विद्यालय २९ (१०·५० प्रतिशत), परिवहन ११ (३·९८ प्रतिशत), टेलीफोन १५ (५·४३ प्रतिशत), उद्योग २ (०·७२ प्रतिशत), वृक्षारोपण ४ (१·४४ प्रतिशत), जमीन ३ (१·०८ प्रतिशत), व सगीत क्लब १ (०·३६ प्रतिशत) (तालिका–७)।

उपर्युक्त आंकडो से निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि स्वरोजगार व नौकरी न होने के बावजूद भी रोजगार की और सिर्फ २६ (९·४२ प्रतिशत) सदस्यों का ध्यान ही गया है। औद्योगिक प्रगति की ओर तो मात्र २ (०·७२ प्रतिशत) सदस्यो ने सोचा है, जबकि टेलीफोन व संगीत क्लब जैसी अनावश्यक सुविधाओ की तरफ काफी लोग आकर्षित हुए हैं। इससे विकास व नवजागरण की, भौतिकता की ओर उनकी मानसिकता का अनुमान सहज ही लगाया जा सकता है।

७. गांव में बिजली व पानी का विवरण—

गाव मे सर्वेक्षण किए गये १०८ परिवारो मे से ५१ (४७·२२ प्रतिशत) परिवारों मे न तो बिजली है, न ही पानी। यहाँ मात्र २६ परिवार यानि २४·०७ प्रतिशत परिवारो मे बिजली व पानी है। २५ (२३·१४ प्रतिशत) परिवार ऐसे हैं, जिनमें सिर्फ बिजली है तथा मात्र ६ (५ ५५ प्रतिशत) परिवार ऐसे हैं, जहाँ पानी है (तालिका-८)। अत. आंकडो से स्पष्ट है कि लगभग ७० प्रतिशत परिवार ऐसे हैं, जहाँ पेयजल की व्यवस्था भी नही है।

८. जातियों का विवरण—

आकडो के अध्ययन से विदित होता है कि लगभग ९० प्रतिशत लोग सवर्ण जातियो के हैं तथा १० या ११ प्रतिशत लोग पिछडो जातियो के हैं। विभिन्न जातियो का विवरण इस प्रकार है—

राजपूत ५६ (५१ ८५ प्रतिशत), ब्राह्मण ४० (३७·०३ प्रतिशत), अनुसूचित जाति १० (९·२५ प्रतिशत), पिछडी जात २ (१·८५ प्रतिशत) (तालिका–९)।

९. जमीन का विवरण—

कुल ३५ परिवारो से प्राप्त जमीन विवरण के आकडो के अनुसार १ से ५ बीघा तक जमीन वाले परिवारो की सख्या सर्वाधिक (१३) है। इन तेरह परिवारो के पास कुल मिलाकर मात्र ४३ बोघा जमीन है, अर्थात प्रति परिवार ३ ३० बीघा। इसके बाद ११ से २० बीघा तक जमीन वाले ९ परिवार हैं, जिनके पास कुल मिलकर १४२ बीघा जमीन है। फिर ६ से १० बोघा तक जमीन वाले ८ परिवारो के पास कुल मिलाकर ६९ बोघा जमीन है। २१ से ३० बीघा तक जमीन वाले मात्र ३ परिवार हैं। जिनके पास कुल मिलाकर ८७ बीघा जमीन है तथा ३१ से ४० बीघा तक जमीन वाले २ परिवार है, जिनके पास ८० बीघा जमीन है (तालिका-१०)। हम देखते हैं कि अधिकाश परिवारो क पास काफी कम जमीन है व बहुत थोड परिवार ऐसे है जिनके पास जमीन ठीक कही जा सकती है। इसलिए यहाँ अन्न मात्रखानेभर का हो पाता है।

१०. पशुओं का विवरण—

सर्वेक्षण से पता चलता है कि इन समस्त परिवारो के पास २०४ गाय,

१०६ भैंस, ३८ बकरी व १५ भेड़ हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त १६५ बैल, ४२ बछड़े, व ५३ बछियाँ हैं। दुधारु पशुओ की कुल संख्या ३६३ है। ये ३६३ पशु केवल प्रतिदिन कुल ३१७ लीटर दूध ही देते है। अतः स्पष्ट है कि प्रति दुधारु पशु १ लीटर दूध भी नही है। औसतन प्रति पशु ०.८७ (तालिका-११) लीटर दूध है। हम देखते है कि प्रति सदस्य लगभग ४६८ ग्राम दूध आता है जो कि आज के समय मे पर्याप्त होता। किन्तु वास्तविकता यह है कि गांव वाले प्रायः तीन-चौथाई दूध को कोटद्वार या निकट की दुकानो व पडोसियो को बेच देते है, तथा उनके पास लगभग एक-तिहाई दूध ही रह जाता है। आकडो से यह भी स्पष्ट है कि पहाडी गाय व भैसो के दूध को मात्रा मैदानी गाय-भैसो के दूध से बहुत कम है। इसका मुख्य कारण है वनो के निरन्तर कटाव से उत्पन्न घास-चारे की कमी। चरागाह नाममात्र के लिए रह गये है। अधिकाश गाय व भैस अत्यन्त दुर्बल प्रतीत होती हैं व किसी प्रकार जंगली घास आदि खाकर अपना पेट भरती हैं।

११. भोजन का विवरण--

गांव के १०८ परिवारो मे से ३६ (३६.११ प्रतिशत) परिवार शाकाहारी तथा ६६ (६३.८८ प्रतिशत) परिवार सामिष तथा निरामिष दोनो प्रकार का मिश्रित भोजन करते है। शाकाहारी व मिलाजुला खाने वाले परिवारो मे अन्न व दूध को खपत तालिका १२ के अनुसार है।

निष्कर्ष--

सर्वेक्षण के उपरान्त प्राप्त आकडो से बहुत-सी महत्वपूर्ण बातें स्पष्ट होती हैं।

गांव के अधिकाश लोग कृषि तथा मजदूरी करते हैं, उनके पास कृषि के लिए भूमि नाममात्र ही है। जिसमे वे अपने गुजारे भर के लिए भी अन्न मुश्किल से उगा पाते है। इसके बावजूद भी उन्होंने कृषि हेतु भूमि, विभिन्न किस्मों के बीजो या आधुनिक कृषियन्त्रो के बारे मे अपना कोई विचार व्यक्त नही किया है। इसके दो कारण हैं, एक तो उनका मानसिक स्तर सीमित है, दूसरे जैसा कि सर्वेक्षण के दौरान एक सदस्य ने कहा कि सरकार योजनाएँ तो बनाती है, किन्तु उन योजनाओ पर अमल नही करती। अत्यधिक बेरोजगारी होते हुए भी रोजगार को मांग केवल ६.४२ प्रतिशत व्यक्तियो ने ही की है। उद्योगों की तरफ मात्र ०.७२ प्रतिशत लोगों का ही ध्यान गया है। बहरहाल

क्षेत्र में सबसे पहले आर्थिक विकास की जरूरत है। जहाँ तक शिक्षा का प्रश्न है, अधिकांश लोग पढ़े-लिखे हैं। महिलाएँ व लड़कियाँ भी शिक्षा के महत्त्व की ओर जागरूक हुई हैं।

गाँव के लगभग ७० प्रतिशत परिवारों में पेयजल की व्यवस्था नहीं है, तब भी मात्र १९.२० प्र०श० लोगों ने ही पेयजल की माँग की है। इसी प्रकार सिंचाई साधन, बिजली, पक्की सड़क, चिकित्सालय, व विद्यालय की जरूरतों को भी बहुत कम लोगों ने दोहराया है। एक काफी रोचक माँग जो कि लगभग १५ परिवारों ने की है वह है टेलीफोन। एक परिवार ने तो संगीत क्लब की माँग भी की है। एक ओर तो मुख्य आवश्यकताओं की कमी व दूसरी ओर ऐसी अनावश्यक कल्पनाएँ, कैसा समन्वय है। इससे गाँव वालों की बौद्धिक अपरिपक्वता ही प्रकट होती है। अतः गाँव में सामाजिक विकास व उत्थान की भी सख्त जरूरत है।

स्पष्ट है कि ग्रामवासियों की आर्थिक व सामाजिक दशा खराब है। यद्यपि शिक्षा की ओर लोग निरन्तर जागरूक हैं, लोगों की मानसिकता भी एक निश्चित क्षेत्र में सिमट कर रह गयी है। परिवार नियोजन, स्वास्थ्य व सफाई की ओर गौर नहीं किया गया है। अतः कहा जा सकता है कि आर्थिक विकास के साथ-साथ गाँव वालों में सामाजिक जागरूकता एवं चेतना की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है।

ग्राम विकास हेतु सुझाव

मोटाढाक गाँव मालिनी नदी के किनारे बसा हुआ है। मालिनी नदी एक-मात्र सिंचाई व पेयजल का साधन है। किन्तु आज शकुन्तला की मालिनी की दशा शोचनीय है। आज मालिनी नदी का पाट डेढ़ मील से भी अधिक चौड़ा हो चला है, इसको बाढ़ व निरन्तर कटाव से न केवल खेती व वनोपयुक्त भूमि बंजर हो रही है, बल्कि वहाँ के ग्रामीणों का आर्थिक स्तर भी निरन्तर ह्रास की ओर है। इस सन्दर्भ में निम्न सुझावों की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट करना उपयोगी होगा :—

(१) मालिनी नदी के कटाव को रोकने के लिए कण्वाश्रम से ऊपर की ओर तत्काल बाँध का निर्माण होना आवश्यक है व नदी के दोनों ओर वृक्ष लगाये जायें। वृक्षारोपण से नदी का कटाव तो रुकेगा ही साथ ही साथ प्रदूषण को दूर करने में भी सहायता मिलेगी। नदियों के तटबन्धों पर ठोकों, स्पर व बन्ध बनाकर तटों को कटाव से रोकना एक ठोस कदम होगा।

(२) आठ-दस ग्राम अंचलों की सिंचाई का साधन केवल दो नहरें हैं। सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्र की सिंचाई के लिए ये नहरे अपर्याप्त हैं। अतः और नहरो का निर्माण व उनका समुचित विकास किया जाना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

(३) पेयजल के लिए भी इन्हीं नहरों का जल प्रयुक्त होता है। सभी लोग अपने नित्यकर्म की पूर्ति भी इन्ही नहरो से करते हैं। साबुन लगाकर कपडो को धोते है, तथा इसी जल को नीचे के गाव वाले पीते हैं। इस प्रकार ये नहरे अत्यन्त प्रदूषित भी हैं। एक और महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि बरसात के दिनो मे इन नहरो में गदला व गन्दा पानी चलता है, जो किसी भी दशा मे पीने लायक नहीं है। फिर भी लोगो को मजबूरन इसे पीना पडता है। इससे वहां के लोगो के स्वास्थ्य पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ेगा, इसका अनुमान सहज ही लगाया जा सकता है।

(४) हरित क्रान्ति के लिए भूमि को कृषि के उपयुक्त बनाना व उसका आधुनिकीकरण नितान्त आवश्यक है। उन्नत किस्मो के बीजो का प्रयोग व अत्यन्त आधुनिक कृषियन्त्रो, उर्वरको की जानकारी ग्रामीणो को दी जानी चाहिए। ऐसे कार्यक्रम चलाये जाये, जिससे ग्रामीणो को आधुनिक कृषि की जानकारी मिल सके।

(५) श्वेत क्रान्ति के क्षेत्र में भी बहुत बडा परिवर्तन लाना जरूरी है। पहाडी पशुओ को देखिए तो वे चलती-फिरती जिन्दा लाश से ज्यादा कुछ नही दीख पडते। उनकी आंखो मे देखने से लगता है मानो दर्द और पीडा है। यदि उन्हे दुधारु बनाना है तो सिर्फ नसलो मे सुधार से ही कुछ नही होगा, उनके लिये हरे चारे की उससे अधिक जरूरत है। अत वृक्षारोपण के साथ-साथ चारे के पेड भी लगाने चाहिए तथा अच्छी किस्म के घासो के चरागाह भी विकसित किए जाने चाहिए।

(६) आज राज्यो मे वनो की रक्षा हेतु वन निगम बनाये गए है, उनका फर्ज है कि वन व पेड-पौधो की हिफाजत करे, किन्तु अधिकाशत देखा गया है कि ये ही रक्षक, भक्षक बने हुए है। दूसरी ओर क्षेत्रीय जनता भी राष्ट्र व समाज को नजरअन्दाज करते हुए, अपने स्वार्थ के लिए पेडो को काट रही है। पर्यावरण असन्तुलित हो गया है। प्रदूषण निरन्तर बढ रहा है, वनो के कटने की दर भी बढती हो जा रही है। अब यह हद को पार कर चुका है। इसके नियन्त्रण में शासन या सरकार पूर्णत. असफल रही है। और इसका

मुख्य कारण है स्थानीय लोगों का साथ न देना व सिर्फ अपना उल्लू सीधा करना। आज समाज को पूर्णतः जागरूक होना है तथा हर किसी का कर्तव्य बनता है कि वो वृक्षारोपण मे सहायता करे। अब यदि प्रत्येक ग्रामीण व राष्ट्र का हर नागरिक इस ओर सचेत रहे तो हम वृक्षारोपण में उपलब्धि जरूर हासिल कर सकते हैं। सन् १९८९ के दौरान इस योजना के अन्तर्गत मालिनी व रौखड मे १६००० से भी अधिक पौधे रोपे गये थे, आज वहा मात्र २-४ हजार पौधे ही बचे हैं। पशुओं द्वारा विनाश इसका मुख्य कारण रहा है।

(७) गांव के आर्थिक विकास हेतु व रोजगार दिलाने की दिशा मे लघु उद्योगों पर बल देना चाहिए। मुर्गी पालन, सुअर पालन व मधुमक्खी पालन पर सरकार को विशेष ऋण प्रदान करने चाहिए व इनकी जानकारी हेतु विशेष नि:शुल्क कैम्प लगाये जाये। अभी हाल ही मे मधुमक्खी पालन की नि:शुल्क जानकारी गाव वालो को दी गयी। इससे ग्रामीणो का आर्थिक व सामाजिक स्तर ऊपर उठेगा, इसका हमे पूर्ण विश्वास है।

(८) प्रत्येक गांव जिसकी जनसंख्या २०० से ऊपर है, मे प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र भी अवश्य खुलना चाहिए। इससे ग्रामवासी स्वस्थ तो रहेगे ही साथ ही साथ उन्हे परिवार नियोजन से भी लाभ पहुँचेगा तथा आगामी पीढी सन्तुलित रहेगी। इन स्वास्थ्य केन्द्रो मे छोटे बच्चो के लिए विभिन्न बीमारियो से बचने के लिए टीको की मुफ्त व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए।

(९) शिक्षा की ओर जागरूकता को देखते हुए यहा दो और इन्टर कॉलेज जिनमे एक सिर्फ लड़कियो के लिए हो, खोले जा सकते हैं।

(१०) हालांकि कुछ परिवारो म बिजली-पानी है, किन्तु सम्पूर्ण गांव मे बिजली-पानी पहुँचाया जाना चाहिए।

(११) मुख्य सडक से ग्रामों को पक्की सड़कों से जोडा जाना चाहिए व परिवहन मे विकास के लिए और अधिक बसे चलनी चाहिए।

उपरोक्त सभी जरूरतों के लिये किसी एक को ही जिम्मेदार समझना व उसे दोष देना गलत है। अपने आर्थिक व सामाजिक उत्थान के लिए सभी को एकजुट होकर लग जाना चाहिए। यहाँ यह कहावत एकदम खरी उतरती है—

"प्रभु उन्ही की सहायता करते है, जो स्वय अपनी सहायता करते है।"

तालिका-1

परिवार का माप—

क्र सं	परिवार मे सदस्यों की सख्या	परिवार संख्या	परिवार %	पुरुष	पुरुष %	महिला	महिला %	महिला व पुरुषो का योग
1.	1—4	12	11 11	31	7·78	14	5·035	45
2.	5—8	89	82 40	328	82 41	237	85 25	565
3	9—11	7	6·48	39	9·79	27	9 71	66
कुल योग		108		398		278		676

तालिका-2

ग्रामवासियो का आयु विवरण—

क्र स.	वर्ष	पुरुष	%	महिला	%	कुल स०	%
1.	0—5	12	3·01	16	5 75	28	4 14
2.	6—12	52	13 06	43	15 46	95	14·05
3.	13—21	145	36 43	89	32 01	234	34·61
4.	22—35	95	23 61	55	19·78	149	22·04
5.	36—50	52	13 06	60	21 58	112	16 56
6.	51—65	39	9 79	12	4·31	51	7 54
7.	66—90	4	1 00	3	1·07	7	1 03
		398		278		676	

तालिका—3

मुख्य आयु वर्ग—

क्र०सं०	वर्ष	पुरुष	%	महिला	%	कुल सं०	%	अनुपात
क—	1—35	303	76·13	302	73·02	506	74·85	ख:क
ख—	35—60	85	21·35	69	24·82	154	22·78	1:3·28
ग—	61—90	10	2·51	6	2·15	16	2·36	

तालिका—4

शिक्षा विवरण—

क्र०सं०	शिक्षा	पुरुष	%	महिला	%	लड़के	%	लड़कियाँ	%	कुल योग	%
1.	अशिक्षित	27	21·60	59	59·00	14	5·28	20	10·75	120	17·75
2.	1—5 तक	38	30·40	21	21·00	100	37·37	65	34·94	224	33 13
3.	6—10 तक	25	20·00	9	9·00	76	28·67	51	19·24	161	23·81
4.	एम० से बी०ए०	23	18·40	7	7·00	75	28·30	50	26·88	155	22·92
5.	बी०ए० से उच्च	12	9·60	4	4·00	—	—	—	—	16	2·36
										676	

तालिका–5

व्यवसाय विवरण—

क्र०सं०	व्यवसाय	व्यक्ति	%
1.	नौकरी	43	22·27
2.	कृषि	96	49·74
3.	पेन्शन (भू०पू०सै०)	15	7·77
4.	रुचासेजगसा	11	5·69
5.	खेतीहर मजदूर	28	14·50

तालिका–6

मासिक आय विवरण—

क्र०स०	मासिक आय (रु० में)	परिवार	%	परिवार में कुल सदस्यो की सख्या	कुल मासिक आय (रु० में)	प्रतिव्यक्ति मासिक आय (रु० मे)
1.	1 से 350	64	65 30	404	13,051	32·30
2.	351 से 1000	30	30·61	178	13,605	76·43
3.	1001 से 1500	4	4·08	21	5,300	252 38
4.	1500 से अधिक कोई नही	—		—	—	—

तालिका–7

परिवार/गाँव की प्राथमिक आवश्यकताएँ—

क्र० सं०	परिवार/गाँव की प्राथमिक मुख्य आवश्यकताएँ	परिवारो की संख्या	%
1.	पेयजल	53	19·20
2	सिचाई	36	13·04
3.	रोजगार	26	9·42
4.	मकान	8	2 89
5.	बिजली	24	9·69
6.	पक्की सडक	40	14·49
7.	चिकित्सालय	25	9·05
8.	विद्यालय	29	10 50
9.	परिवहन	11	3·98
10.	टेलीफोन	15	5·43
11.	उद्योग	2	0·62
12.	वृक्षारोपण	4	1·44
13.	जमीन	3	1 08
14.	संगीत क्लब	1	0·36

तालिका–8

गाँव के विभिन्न परिवारों में बिजली पानी का विवरण—

क्र०सं०	बिजली व पानी की स्थिति	परिवार	%
1.	केवल बिजली है	25	23·14
2.	केवल पानी है	6	5·55
3.	बिजली व पानी दोनों हैं	26	24 06
4.	दोनों में से कोई नहीं	51	47·22

तालिका–9

जाति-विवरण—

क्र०सं०	जातियाँ	परिवार	%
1.	राजपूत	56	36 03
2.	ब्राह्मण	40	51 85
3.	अनुसूचित जाति	10	9·25
4·	पिछड़ी जाति	2	1·85

तालिका–10

जमीन विवरण—

क्र०स०	जमीन (बीघा मे)	परिवारों की सं०	कुल जमीन (बीघा में)	प्रति परिवार जमीन (बीघा में)
1.	1—5	13	43	3·30
2	6—10	8	69	8·62
3.	11—20	9	142	15 66
4.	21—30	3	89	29 0
5.	31—40	2	80	40·0

तालिका–11

पशुओं का विवरण—

क्र०सं०	पशु	पशुओं की संख्या	पशुओ द्वारा प्राप्त दूध की मात्रा (लीटर मे)	एक पशु द्वारा प्राप्त औसत दूध (लीटर)
1.	गाय	204	212	
2.	भैंस	106	100	0 87
3.	बकरी	38	5	
4.	भेड	15	—	
5.	बैल	165	—	
6.	बछड़ा	42	—	
7.	बछिया	53	—	

तालिका–12

भोजन का विवरण—

क्र॰सं॰	शाकाहारी भोजन करने वाले परिवारो की संख्या	%	मिलाजुला भोजन करने वाले परिवारो की संख्या	%	मासिक व्यय गेहू की मात्रा (किग्रा)	मासिक व्यय चावल की मात्रा (किग्रा)	मासिक व्यय दाल की मात्रा (किग्रा)	मासिक व्यय दूध की- मात्रा (लीटर)
1.	9	36.11	69	63·88	3562	3515	966	2330

गंगा समन्वित योजना (भारत सरकार)
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

"गंगा एवं गंगा का मैदान—एक अध्ययन"

(ऋषिकेश से गढ़मुक्तेश्वर तक)

डा० वि० शंकर
मुख्य अन्वेषक

ऋषिकेश से गढ़मुक्तेश्वर तक गंगा का अध्ययन करने पर अनेक तथ्य सामने आए। १९८४ मे देखा गया कि कुछ इलाको मे, मुख्यतः ऋषिकेश–हरिद्वार में फैक्टरी और शहरी गन्दे नालों द्वारा गगा एवं गगानहर प्रदूषित हो रही थी। (इन गन्दे नालो को अब केन्द्रीय गंगा प्राधिकरण के अन्तर्गत हुए कार्यों के द्वारा गंगा मे गिरने से रोका गया है।) कुछ इलाके ऐसे भी थे और आज भी हैं जहाँ गंगा के तट पर बसे ग्रामो मे रहने वाले लोग निरन्तर बाढ के खतरे से ग्रस्त रहते हैं। नदी द्वारा मिट्टी का कटाव, फसलो की पैदावार कम होना, ईंधन के लिए गंगातट एव आसपास के जगलो से वृक्षकटान, गरीबी, न्यूनतम जन-सुविधाओं का न होना, नदी के निरन्तर बदलते हुए पथ से भूमि के लम्बे-चौड़े क्षेत्रफल का निरुपयोग हो जाना, कही दलदली क्षेत्र तो कही खादिर, वनस्पतियो का, विशेषरूप से अनेक महत्वपूर्ण औषधीय जड़ी-बूटियो का एव तटीय तथा निकटवर्ती पहाड़ियों पर उगने वाले पौधो का कम होते जाना, नहरों के इलाके मे रिसन, लवणता, आदि कुछ ऐसे लक्षण है जो ऋषिकेश से गढमुक्तेश्वर तक के ग्रामीण इलाकों में दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं।

हरिद्वार–ऋषिकेश में गंगा को साफ करने के लिए गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय ने १९८४ में अध्ययन प्रारम्भ किया। इसके लिए पूरे क्षेत्र का सर्वे एवं गंगा में गिरने वाले नालों का सूत्रीकरण किया गया। नगरपालिका के अधिकारियो (श्री ए० सी० दूबे, डा० अभयसिंह, आदि) ने सर्वे कार्य मे सराहनीय योगदान दिया। कुछ सर्वे में ये लोग हमारे साथ रहे और नालो तथा सिल्ट की समस्याओं के उद्गम स्थानों का मौके पर अध्ययन किया। गगा के पानी पर दुष्प्रभाव का पता लगाने के लिए विश्वविद्यालय के वनस्पति विज्ञान विभाग में "गंगा समन्वित योजना" (भारत सरकार) के अन्तर्गत नालों और

गंगा के पानी के अनेक सैम्पल लिए गए और उनका विश्लेषण किया गया तथा गगा मे नालों से होने वाले प्रदूषण का अन्दाज लगाया गया। इसके लिए पानी के फिजिको-केमीकल एवं माइक्रोबायोलोजीकल केरेक्टर्स का अध्ययन किया गया। शहरो के सीवेज पम्पिग स्टेशन, सीवर लाइन एवं गली पिट्स आदि का मौके पर अध्ययन किया गया तथा उनको स्थिति के विषय मे रिपोर्ट तैयार की। अध्ययन के आधार पर विश्वविद्यालय को ओर से गंगा समन्वित योजना के अन्तर्गत योजना के मुख्य अन्वेषक डा० विजय शंकर ने १९८४ में ४ रिपोर्ट तैयार की जिनमे गगा मे प्रदूषण के कारण एव उनके उपचार के लिए सुझाव प्रस्तुत किये गये। रिपोर्ट की प्रतियाँ संबन्धित विभागों / कारखानों को भी भेजो गई। उत्तर प्रदेश जल निगम के रुड़की स्थित इन्जीनियर श्री ओ०पी० वोर से भी विचार-विमर्श हुआ एव उन्हे भो रिपोर्ट की प्रतियाँ भेजी गई।

इन रिपोर्टों के द्वारा एव 'हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स' (सितम्बर ६, ११, १२ १९८४) मे छपे डा० विजय शकर के इन्टरव्यू के द्वारा हरिद्वार-ऋषिकेश क्षेत्र मे गगा के प्रदूषण को ओर राष्ट्रीयस्तर पर ध्यान आकर्षित हुआ। वर्ष १९८५ में 'केन्द्रीय गंगा प्राधिकरण' का गठन हुआ और इसके साथ ही उ० प्र० जल निगम एव गगा प्रदूषण नियन्त्रण इकाई हरिद्वार-ऋषिकेश मे उतर आये और गगा की सफाई मे सक्रिय हो गये।

उपरोक्त अध्ययन एवं कार्यों के फलस्वरूप, जिनकी पहल करने का श्रेय गुरुकुल कागडी विश्वविद्यालय को है, आज १९८७ मे ऋषिकेश-हरिद्वार क्षेत्र मे गंगा, नालो के प्रदूषण से कुछ सीमा तक मुक्त है। इसके लिए नई सीवर लाइन डाली गई है, नालों को ट्रेप किया गया है, नये सीवेज पम्पिग स्टेशन बनाये गये हैं पुरानों का सुधार किया गया है एवं बायोलोजिकल ट्रीटमेंट प्लांट बनाया जा रहा है। इन सब कार्यों की प्रगति को देखने के लिए २२ मई १९८७ को योजना आयोग के डा० एम० जी० के० मेनन एव अन्य सदस्य तथा केन्द्रीय गगा प्राधिकरण के डा० सुरेशचन्द्र का हरिद्वार मे आगमन हुआ। उनके साथ बी०एच०ई०एल० हरिद्वार मे गगा समन्वित योजना, गुरुकुल कागडी विश्वविद्यालय, प्रदूषण नियन्त्रण इकाई, जलनिगम एवं बी०एच०ई०एल० के प्रतिनिधियों को मीटिंग हुई। विश्वविद्यालय की ओर से डा० विजय शकर, मुख्य अन्वेषक एव डा० आर० पी० एस० सन्नू, शोध वैज्ञानिक ने भाग लिया। मीटिंग के पश्चात पूरे क्षेत्र का सर्वे एव निरीक्षण भी किया गया। जहाँ नालों का ट्रेपिंग एवं पम्पिंग स्टेशनों आदि के निर्माण का कार्य प्राय: सम्पन्न हो गया है, वहाँ पहाड़ियों पर वृक्षारोपण के क्षेत्र मे बहुत कुछ करना शेष है। इस अवसर पर गुरुकुल कांगडी विश्वविद्यालय के मुख्य अन्वेषक ने योजना द्वारा किये गये कार्यों पर आधारित

Fig-I
RIVER GANGA AT HARDWAR
LEGENDS
DRAIN
DAM
ASHRAM
BHIM GODA HEAD WORKS
GANGA RIVER
BHIM GODA DRAIN
HARDWAR DAM
KIM DRAIN
HAR KI PAURI
SHIWALIK
UPPER ROAD
NAL SOTA DRAIN
MOTI BAZAAR
VILKESHWAR COLONY
BIRLA GHAT
L R BRIDGE
CHANDI CLIFF
INDUSTRIAL ESTATE
LALTA RAO DRAIN
SHARWAN NATH NAGAR
MAYAPUR DAM
MAYAPUR DRAIN
DEOPURA DRAIN
KANKHAL BUND
SPUR
BHEL TOUNSHIP
BHEL FACTORY
SIGH GATE BRIDGE
CENTRAL CHANNEL
JAWALA PUR
RAILWAY BRIDGE
KANKHAL TOWN
KANKHAL CHANNEL
BIJNOR CHANNEL
JATWARA BRIDGE

३ रिपोर्ट योजना आयोग के श्री शाह को उनकी प्रार्थना पर दी। रिपोर्ट में उन पौधों की एक छोटी सूची भी दी गई है जो शिवालिक की पहाड़ियों पर लगाये जाने चाहिए। रिपोर्ट में सीवेज ट्रीटमेंट प्लान्ट, सीवेज फार्म एवं आक्सीडेशन पोंड की उपयोगिता एवं व्यावहारिकता की तुलना की गई है एवं स्टार्म वाटर के लिए अलग चैनल बनाने पर भी बल दिया गया है। योजना के अध्ययनक्षेत्र में कम होती हुई औषधीय वनस्पतियों की ओर भी ध्यान आकृष्ट किया गया है एवं उनके संरक्षण एवं समृद्धि के लिए सुझाव दिये गये हैं। आशा है उपरोक्त सुझावों को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए एवं कार्यान्वित करने के लिए योजना आयोग एवं गंगा प्राधिकरण हरिद्वार-ऋषिकेश क्षेत्र में आगे के लिए कार्यक्रम बनायेंगे, जिससे यह क्षेत्र पर्यावरण एवं आर्थिक दृष्टि से अधिक उत्तम बनाया जा सके। प्रदूषण के अध्ययन के साथ विश्वविद्यालय ने गंगा योजना के अन्तर्गत भूमि कटाव, अपरदन, जलरिसाव एवं जल प्लावन आदि का भी अध्ययन किया। इनके उपचार के सुझाव भी दिये गये। गंगा के मैदान मे जो क्षेत्र उपरोक्त अपकर्षों से ग्रसित हैं उनको क्षेत्र के नक्शे पर दर्शाया गया। ऋषिकेश से गढमुक्तेश्वर तक के क्षेत्र के सामाजिक-आर्थिक ढांचे पर भी नजर डाली गई और उसे समझने का प्रयत्न किया गया—इस दृष्टि से कि इस क्षेत्र के सामाजिक-आर्थिक एव पर्यावरण के ताने-बाने को किस प्रकार बेहतर बनाया जा सके। इसके लिए ऋषिकेश से गढमुक्तेश्वर तक के प्राय: २५०० ग्रामों के सर्वेक्षण का काय प्रारम्भ किया गया। प्रत्येक ग्राम के विषय मे सामाजिक-आर्थिक एव पर्यावरण सम्बन्धी जानकारी प्राप्त करने के लिए उपयुक्त प्रपत्र तैयार किये गये, जिनमें उपरोक्त जानकारी दर्ज की गई। इस सम्बन्ध में समस्त खण्ड विकास अधिकारियों ने एवं उनके विभाग के कर्मचारियो ने सराहनीय सहयोग दिया जिसके बिना यह कार्य सम्पन्न होना कठिन था। ग्रामवासियो ने भी ग्रामीण स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए उपयोगी सुझाव दिये।

अब तक के अध्ययन से जो बातें सामने आई हैं उनमें से संक्षेप में कुछ निम्न है—

१—गगा से लगे हुए प्राय. सभी ग्रामों मे गगा से भूमि कटाव हो रहा है। यह कटाव उन स्थानो मे अधिक है जहाँ नदी से पत्थर बहुत अधिक निकाले गये हैं, यहाँ तक कि ग्राम के किनारे से भी पत्थर उठा लिए गये हैं। कुछ ग्रामों में बाढ़ की समस्या है।

२— निचले स्तर पर बसे ग्रामो मे जल रिसाव एवं जल प्लावन हो रहा है जिससे भूमि का एक बड़ा भाग स्थान २ पर बेकार हो गया है। ऐसे क्षेत्रों में फसल की हानि हुई है साथ ही लोगों को अपना व्यवसाय भी बदलना

त्रिशूल अतिथि भवन, बी०एच०ई०एल०, हरिद्वार मे गगा एक्शन प्लान के अन्तर्गत हुए गगा प्रदूषण को रोकने हेतु हुए कार्यो के मानचित्र का अवलोकन करते हुए डा० एम०जी०के० मेनन (सदस्य योजना आयोग नई दिल्ली)। चित्र मे उनके बाई ओर डा० विजय शकर (मुख्य अन्वेषक, गगा समन्वित योजना, गु०का० विश्वविद्यालय), श्री विस्वास (गगा प्रदूषण इकाई) एव डा० मजू शर्मा (योजना आयोग) और दाहिनी ओर डा० आर०पी०एस० सघू (शोध वैज्ञानिक, ग० स० यो०, गु० का० वि०) एव जिलाधिकारी सहारनपुर श्री अरुण मिश्रा, आई० ए० एस०।

बी०एल०ई०एल०—ज्वालापुर नाला

निरीक्षण करते हुए डा० एम०जी०के० मेनन, श्री अरुण मिश्रा, डा० मजु शर्मा, श्री मगल, डा० वि० शकर, डा० आर०पी०एस० सघू एव अन्य ।

बिल्केश्वर की पहाडियो का अवलोकन करते हुए डा० मेनन, डा० मजू शर्मा, श्री शाह (योजना आयोग नई दिल्ली) के साथ श्री अरुण मिश्रा, जिलाधिकारी, श्री मगल (ग०प्रा०इ०) डा० वि० शकर, डा० मधू (ग०स०यो०, गु०का०वि०) एव अन्य।

मायापुर नाला

योजना आयोग नई दिल्ली की टीम, गगा प्रदूषण इकाई हरिद्वार एव गगा समन्वित योजना के प्रतिनिधि नाले का निरीक्षण करते हुए। चित्र मे बाये मे—श्री अरुण मिश्रा, डा० वि० शकर, डा० मजु शर्मा, श्री मगल आदि ।

पड़ा है। यहाँ यह बात ध्यान देने योग्य है कि भूमि एक राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति है और उसकी हानि राष्ट्र की हानि है। मिट्टी का एक-एक कण हमारे लिए कीमती है।

३— अधिकतर ग्रामों में तालाब नही पाये गये। प्रत्येक ग्राम मे कम से कम एक बडा तालाब आवश्यक है। इससे अनेक कार्यों के लिए, जैसे कपड़े धोना, सिंचाई, मछली पालन, सिंघाड़ा आदि की बेल लगाना, पशुओं के लिए पीने-नहाने के लिए जल की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति होती है। प्राचीन समय में छोटे-छोटे तालाबों से सिंचाई कार्य मे सराहनीय योगदान मिला है। भारत मे प्राय. ५-६ लाख तालाब हुआ करते थे जिनसे सिंचाई सफलतापूर्वक होती थी।

४— अधिकतर ग्रामो में विद्यालयों की दशा शोचनीय है। शिक्षक-विद्यार्थी अनुपात प्रायः १ : २० से १ : ५० तक हैं। कही २ एक शिक्षक को ही सभी कक्षाएँ देखनी होती हैं। भवन की दृष्टि से भी स्थिति गम्भीर है। जितने शिक्षक एक विद्यालय के लिए प्रस्तावित हैं उतने भी नियुक्त नही किये जाते या मिल नहीं पाते। इस समस्या की ओर ध्यान देना आवश्यक है, विशेषरूप से अब जबकि सरकार शिक्षा की ओर विशेष ध्यान देने जा रही है। ग्रामो के बालक, बालिकाये उत्तम शिक्षा पाये, यह आवश्यक है। उसके लिए Voluntary सगठन भी आगे आ सकते हैं। अधिकतर ग्रामीणो की मासिक आय रु० ३००–४०० तक है। रोजगार के नाम पर लोग या तो मजदूरी करते हैं, खेती करते है या छोटा-मोटा व्यापार करते हैं। कुछ ग्रामो के लोग कं शार या फैक्टरी मे नौकरी करते हैं। कुछ लोग लकड़ी बेचकर जीवनोपार्जन करते हैं।

कागडी ग्राम में आर्थिक-सामाजिक एव पर्यावरणीय स्थिति में सुधार लाने के लिए ग्रामीणो को बैंक से ऋण की सुविधा दिलवाने मे गु० का० वि० ने अच्छा काम किया जिससे वहाँ के लोगो की आर्थिक स्थिति में काफी सुधार हुआ। प्राय: ३०% परिवारो की मासिक आय मे ३०० से ४०० रु० की वृद्धि हुई। ग्राम को बाढ से बचाने के लिए सरकार के सम्बन्धित विभाग एवं जिलाधिकारी से सम्बन्ध स्थापित करके विश्वविद्यालय ने सरकार को चेक-डॉम बनाने के लिए तैयार किया। वर्तमान कुलपति श्री आर० सी० शर्मा (आई० ए० एस०) पूर्व कुलपति श्री जो० बी० के० हूजा (आई० ए० एस०) एवं कांगडी ग्राम विकास योजना के निदेशक डा० वि० शकर एव ग्रामवासियों के प्रयास से चैक-डॉम अब प्राय तैयार है।

बिजनौर में बैराज बनने से समीपवर्ती इलाके की भूमि मे रिसन एवं जल प्लावन तथा लवणता प्रारम्भ हो गई है जिससे अनेक खेत बेकार हो गये हैं तथा कुछ लोग मजदूरी के लिए मुजफ्फरनगर केशर मे काम करने जाने लगे हैं। ऐसा भी बताया जा रहा है कि पिछले वर्ष इन ग्रामो में भी बाढ आ गई जो अभी तक बाढ के खतरे से मुक्त थे।

५— ग्राम की भूमि (पंचायत/ग्राम सभा) अधिकतर खाली पडी है जहाँ उपयोगी वृक्ष लगाना आवश्यक है। भूमि कटाव रोकने के लिए भी प्रभावी पौधे लगाना आवश्यक है। इस प्रकार के वृक्षों की एक सूची योजना ने तैयार की है।

६— जिन ग्रामो के निकट वन है वहाँ ग्रामीण जंगल से ईंधन-लकडी प्राप्त करते है, इससे वन को हानि होती है। वनो को हानि से बचाने के लिए ग्राम को खाली पडी भूमि मे बडी सख्या मे वृक्ष लगाये जाएँ और साथ ही गोबर गैस प्लांट लगाने के लिए भी ग्रामीणो को प्रोत्साहित किया जाए। साथ ही ग्राम में सौर चूल्हा का भोजन पकाने के लिए चलन भी पर्यावरण संरक्षण एव समृद्धि मे उपयोगी सिद्ध होगा।

७— अधिकतर ग्रामो में प्राथमिक सेवायें सन्तोषजनक नही हैं। कुछ ग्रामों मे स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र भी नहीं हैं।

८— ऋषिकेश में श्यामपुर खादिर के निवासी आई०डी०पी०एल० फैक्टरी से, गजरौला में विकसित होते हुए इण्डस्ट्रीयल काम्पलेक्स से, निकटवर्ती ग्रामों के ग्रामवासी स्थानीय फैक्ट्रियों से निकलने वाले एफ्लूएन्टस से दुखी हैं, इससे भूमि, फसल, वनस्पतियों आदि को हानि हो रही है। गगा समन्वित योजना ने अपनी रिपोर्टों मे इन बातों की ओर पहले ही ध्यान आकृष्ट किया है।

वेदों में पर्यावरण संरक्षण

असंबाधं बध्यतो मानवानां यस्या उद्धत प्रवत. समं बहु।
नाना वीर्या औषधीर्या बिभर्ति पृथिवी न: प्रथतां राध्ता न: ॥

अथर्व० १२/२

पृथ्वी के ऊँचे भाग अर्थात् पर्वत, समतल भाग और निम्न भाग नाना गुणो वाली औषधियो से परिपूर्ण हो। ऐसी नाना गुणो से युक्त वनस्पतियो से मण्डित पृथ्वी ही मनुष्यमात्र का कल्याण करने वाली होती है। जब पृथ्वी के उक्त तीनो भाग वनस्पतियो से नगे हो जाते है तो पृथ्वी मनुष्य का कल्याण करने मे असमर्थ हो जाती है।

यह बड़े खेद की बात है कि सभी देशों में उन्नति का अर्थ प्रकृति पर आक्रमण समझा जाने लगा है। . . . . जरूरत इस बात की है कि रहन-सहन का स्तर भी सुधरे और लोगों को जो कुछ विरासत में मिला है उसमें कोई फर्क न आये और न प्रकृति के सौन्दर्य, ताजगी और स्वच्छता में, जो हमारे जीवन के लिए बहुत जरूरी है, कोई कमी आए।

—इन्दिरा गांधी

nuns received pensions, of varying amounts, the smallest being four marks per annum. Even this small amount was sufficient to keep them from starvation. John Draper, the last prior of Christchurch, in Hampshire, was granted a pension, also of two hundred marks per annum, which he is known to have received until his death, several years after the surrender of the priory.

The whole of the monastic property passed to the Crown. If these ecclesiastical lands had been retained permanently as Crown lands the monarchy would have been much enriched, and it is possible that the course of English history in the Stuart period might have been different. But Henry did not retain his new possessions. Six new bishoprics were established, and some monastic lands were set aside as endowments for these new posts, while monastic churches were selected as cathedrals for the new prelates. Some of the wealth obtained at this time was used for national defence. Ships were built, dockyards equipped, coast defences strengthened. But the greater part of monastic property passed by gift or sale into private hands, and many men who stood well at court laid the foundation of their fortunes in this way. Thus a class of new landowners arose. Henry has been blamed for squandering these lands. But he had good reason for doing this. If he had kept all monastic possessions in his own hands it would have been easy for some future king to undo his work and to restore the monasteries and the power of the Pope. But if ever such a course were to be suggested the new landowners would, to a man, oppose it. A future sovereign would find it difficult to overthrow King Henry's work.

Thomas Cromwell, the Hammer of the Monks, had done his work well, but he did not live to see its results fully developed. As has already been stated, an attempt was made in 1538 to bring about an alliance between the Emperor and the King of France against the King of England, and to meet this danger Cromwell negotiated an alliance between England and the German Protestant princes, at the same time arranging a marriage between Henry and the Lady Anne of Cleves. Henry's displeasure at a marriage into which he thought he had been tricked brought Cromwell to the block.

CHAPTER XII

ENGLISH RELIGION IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TUDOR PERIOD (1535-1558)

For the last twelve years of his reign Henry VIII was a kind of pope over the English Church. He was keenly interested in theological matters and he was determined to maintain and extend his kingly authority. He was, as he had always been, Catholic in belief, and he insisted upon imposing his will on the nation. He would not allow his people to become Protestant. There was, indeed, little inclination on their part to do so, but, here and there, in London and the south-east, small groups of Protestants were to be found. On the King's Council were some, known as Men of the New Learning, who were Protestant at heart, although they were outwardly Catholic. In so far as they were able to affect the King's policy their advice and influence were in favour of further change. Opposed to them were the Men of the Old Learning, who were antagonistic to any change in the direction of Protestantism. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, and the Earl of Hertford, Edward Seymour (the King's brother-in-law), were of the New Learning, as was Thomas Cromwell, while their opponents were led by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and the Duke of Norfolk. The story of the last few years of the reign is the record of events brought about by the influence first of one group and then of the other over the King. It must be remembered, however, that nobody on the Council dared offer strong opposition to the King's policy. As Henry grew older and his health and temper grew worse, to attempt to thwart him was to incur grave risk of death for "treason." Whatever their private opinions might be, all of Henry's councillors were outwardly Catholic, and all accepted the royal supremacy over the Church.

The dissolution of the monasteries was carried out with the approval of the New Learning party, and the course of events which culminated in the fall of the religious houses encouraged

some people to expect the King to go farther and become a Protestant. They were undeceived in 1539, when Henry caused the Statute of Six Articles to be passed through Parliament. It enumerated six points of Catholic doctrine and practice which every one was to accept, and severe penalties were threatened against all who refused. Rejection of any one of five of them was to be visited with imprisonment and loss of property. The denial of the sixth, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, was punishable with death at the stake. (Transubstantiation was the doctrine that the bread and wine used in the mass, when consecrated by the priest, were changed into the Body and Blood of Christ.) This terrible law made it clear that the King had no intention of becoming a Protestant, nor of permitting his subjects to do so. Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, resigned his bishopric rather than accept this law, and risked being sent to the stake. But Henry had a strong feeling of admiration for Latimer, who was one of his chaplains, and one of the best and greatest men of his time. In an age when most men were timid and time-serving Latimer stood out fearlessly for what he regarded as the truth, and the King overlooked in him what he would have punished in most other men.

The Statute of Six Articles was a victory for the Old Learning. Yet their opponents were able to secure the publication of the Bible in English in the year 1538. Archbishop Cranmer supervised its issue, and a copy was placed in every church throughout the country. The Bible was secured in its place by means of a chain. People were encouraged to visit their churches and read the sacred volume, if they could, and, if they could not, to listen to those who could. The practice of reading the Bible, which has for four centuries been characteristic of the English people, began at this time.

A few years later the New Learning secured a further slight concession from the King. A short form of service in the English language, consisting of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a Litany, was issued. It was intended to be used in churches before mass, and as a preparation for that service. There was nothing Protestant about it, but for the first time a service in English was authorised. The mass was, of course, still said in Latin with all the ancient ceremonial.

Other religious institutions which possessed property came

under the King's notice towards the end of his reign. There were hundreds of chantries in the country, served by chantry priests, whose regular duty it was to say a mass every day for the soul of the founder of the chantry, who had left lands sufficient to provide payment for the priest. Though the Statute of Six Articles had expressly ordered masses to be said for the souls of the dead, the King now ordered the suppression of the chantries on the ground that they were superstitious. Their property was taken by the Crown. The dissolution of the monasteries had been undertaken because they were strongholds of papal power; the dissolution of the chantries had no such excuse. It was simply due to royal greed.

The gilds were associations of craftsmen in all the large towns. Most of them had been in existence for hundreds of years, and were very wealthy. It was usual for rich gilds to use part of their revenues for religious purposes, and the King at this time ordered an inquiry into this use of gild property. That part of the wealth of the gilds which was devoted to religious purposes was to be confiscated (though this measure was not actually carried out until the following reign). It was impossible to distinguish between what was used for religious and what for other purposes, and the gilds suffered severely; they ceased, in fact, to be of any importance, except in London.

Such measures as these were not really connected with religion at all; they were instances of plunder under a religious pretext. They help to show how the King's character deteriorated towards the end of the reign. Yet Henry remained Catholic to the day of his death. No Englishman was allowed to become a Protestant, and a few who defied the Statute of Six Articles paid the penalty at the stake. But no severe persecution occurred—nothing, at least, to stir the feelings of the bulk of the nation.

When Henry VIII died in 1547 his son Edward VI (whose mother was Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour) was a boy of nine, and some kind of regency was necessary. Henry arranged for this in his will, and devised a scheme which, if carried into effect, would prevent the making of extensive changes during his son's boyhood. A Regency Council of sixteen members, about equally chosen from among the Old Learning and the New Learning, was to govern the country, and Henry hoped that the division of opinion which would

exist would prevent both a movement towards Protestantism and a return to papal authority. He further provided that Edward on reaching the age of twenty-four should be empowered to annul anything done during his minority. The Earl of Hertford, one of the sixteen, was disappointed that the late King had not named him Protector, since he was the brother of Jane Seymour and uncle of the new King. He persuaded the Council, however, to give him the position, and for the first two years of the reign Henry's arrangements fell to the ground. Hertford became Duke of Somerset.

The new Protector was a man of no great ability. He had been associated with the New Learning party, and now that Henry was dead he no longer concealed his sympathy with Protestantism. The Six Articles were repealed and priests were allowed to marry. Old religious customs were discontinued. Even the Lenten fast was disregarded, and Cranmer, who followed the Protector's lead, was the first Archbishop of Canterbury to eat meat in Lent. In 1549 a Book of Common Prayer was issued, containing services in the English language to be used in churches. For the most part they were translations of Latin services that had been in use hitherto, and the tone of the book was Catholic and not Protestant. But in other respects Somerset and his friends aimed at introducing Protestantism. Commissioners were sent to visit the churches throughout the country and to remove from them all images and pictures and other articles of value. This plundering of the churches enriched the party in power. It was exceedingly unpopular. In hundreds of country villages the people who had accepted without demur the changes made by Henry VIII watched sullenly the plundering of the church in which they had worshipped all their lives. Small wonder if they thought that Protestantism was merely a form of plunder, and that they preferred the Catholicism in which they had been reared. Numerous petty revolts occurred, all easily suppressed. A rather serious rebellion broke out in Devonshire, and this, too, was put down. But the fact that these risings took place shows that the Protector's proceedings were distasteful to the people.

Somerset fell from power in 1549, and for the rest of the reign the country was ruled by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, President of the Council. Warwick was a man of no principle, who decided that his interests lay in siding with the Protestants. He arranged for the issue of a second Book of Common Prayer,

which differed from the first in many ways and was much more Protestant in tone. Some of the bishops of Catholic opinions were removed from their sees, and Gardiner of Winchester and Bonner of London were imprisoned in the Tower. Some attempt was made to instruct the English people in Protestant principles, and a number of continental Protestant preachers visited England for this purpose. Warwick's rule was marked by a further plundering of church property. Not merely movable goods, but church lands and property of every description were seized in the name of religion by the unscrupulous gang which was associated with Warwick in ruling the country.

But Warwick's rule was drawing to a close. The young King was evidently dying, and at his death the throne was to pass to his half-sister, the Papist Mary. Warwick's power would be ended when this occurred, and he schemed to place his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne instead of Mary. He hoped thus to continue to be the real ruler of the land. When Edward died, in July, 1553, Warwick, who had now taken the title of Duke of Northumberland, proclaimed Lady Jane Grey Queen, and attempted to seize Mary. His troops deserted him, and he was forced to change sides and profess to support Mary, who, however, placed him and Lady Jane in the Tower. He was beheaded for his treason, and after a time Lady Jane suffered a similar fate.

Mary's accession was made possible by the fact that the people of London and the home counties were strongly in her favour, preferring a Catholic to a Protestant Queen. While the nation had readily accepted the religious changes made by Henry VIII it was disgusted with Protestant proceedings in the time of his son, and gladly welcomed one who would, they thought, restore her father's system. If she had been content to do this her reign would have been a success. But she wanted to do more; she wanted to undo not only her brother's but her father's work.

To return to the state of affairs at the end of Henry's reign was an easy task. Foreign Protestant preachers were exiled, the use of the Book of Common Prayer was forbidden, the Latin mass was restored, and priests who had married were ordered to separate from their wives. The Six Articles were restored, and the bishops who had been removed in the reign of Edward VI recovered their sees. In ordering these things

the Queen met with no opposition. But she was head of the Church, and she wished at the earliest possible moment to restore ecclesiastical authority in England to the Pope, to whom in her opinion it rightfully belonged. But her Parliaments contained many men who held monastic lands, and they feared that the re-establishment of papal power would be accompanied by the restoration of the religious houses. Mary at length promised not to insist on the restoration of the monasteries, and Parliament then consented to repeal the Act of Supremacy. An English Cardinal at Rome, Reginald Pole, a personal friend of Mary, was sent to England as Papal Legate, and the English Church was solemnly reunited to that of Rome. It should be added that those monasteries which with their lands remained in the possession of the Crown were restored by the Queen.

Thus Henry VIII's work was undone. The restoration of Catholic worship was carried out with the approval of the nation; the revival of papal power was much less popular, and Mary's subsequent proceedings were even less to the liking of her people. For she now embarked upon a course of persecution. The number of Protestants in the country was not large, but it was not altogether insignificant, and the Queen regarded the extinction of heresy as necessary to the completion of the task to which she had committed herself. No formal "Inquisition" was established, but the work of dealing with heretics was assigned to the bishops, who, with two or three exceptions, had little liking for it. By an old law, passed against the Lollards in 1401, the burning of heretics was permitted, and Mary acted upon it. Between 1555 and 1558 nearly three hundred persons suffered death at the stake for their faith. This persecution was carried on very unequally throughout the country. Bonner, Bishop of London, and Cardinal Pole, who was appointed to Canterbury in succession to Cranmer, were the most energetic persecutors. (Gardiner of Winchester died before the persecution had fully begun.) Most of the Protestants, therefore, suffered in London and the neighbouring counties. The smallness of the number of burnings in the remoter parts of England was perhaps due to the fact that there were very few Protestants in these regions, and also that the bishops who were farther from London, and not immediately under the Queen's eye, refrained from looking for what they did not wish to find. Most of those who suffered were of

humble birth—artisans and labourers, housewives and apprentices, and even children. Five bishops, however, suffered. Ferrars of St. David's, Hooper of Gloucester, Ridley, formerly of London, Latimer, formerly of Worcester, and Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, died at the stake for their faith. Cranmer had held his position for many years. He had been appointed before Henry VIII had separated from Rome and his appointment had received the sanction of the Pope. It was the rule of the Roman Church that an archbishop could be degraded and removed only with the Pope's permission, and this necessarily involved delay. But at length Cranmer was removed from his archbishopric and was degraded from the priesthood. He was a timid man and feared the manner of his death. In the hope of avoiding the flame he recanted his faith. But Mary had no mercy for the man who had pronounced her mother's divorce, and when Cranmer found that he was to suffer in spite of his recantation he withdrew it and met his end with courage which is the more praiseworthy in view of his naturally shrinking disposition.

The persecution in England was not severe in comparison with what had happened in some continental countries. (Many thousands of Protestants had died in the Netherlands under the Emperor Charles V.) But it was severe enough, and its effect was altogether different from what Mary had expected. For three years Englishmen watched with growing horror the infliction on Protestants, at the average rate of two a week, of death of inconceivable torment. Hitherto men had recoiled from Protestantism, which had been presented to them in a way little to be distinguished from brigandage. Now for the first time they realised that it was a faith for which men would face the most awful of deaths. The impression made by Mary's work has never been effaced from the English mind. The nation as a whole turned from the one form of the Christian faith to the other. In 1553 England was at heart Catholic; in 1558 many people were Protestant. It was not the least bitter of the thoughts that clouded the Queen's last days that by her action she had turned her people away from her faith.

Mary's life had been full of disappointments. As a young girl she had sided with her mother against her father, and had incurred his displeasure. No longer as Princess Mary, but merely as the Lady Mary Tudor, she had been banished from Henry's court. Living almost alone, she had been equally

out of favour in her father's and her brother's reigns. The outburst of popular enthusiasm when she became Queen, and the clear expression of the nation's preference for her over Jane Grey, seemed to indicate that the clouds which had overshadowed her early life were passing away, and that she might expect a happy and prosperous reign. Her expectation was not fulfilled. She married Philip, and found that he did not love her, and, in fact, neglected her. She restored papal power; yet a new Pope, Paul IV (an enemy of Cardinal Pole), found fault with her because English monasteries were not restored. He tried to deprive Pole of the legateship, and to prevent this Mary had to exercise her royal authority in England against the Pope. Mary joined her husband in war with France and lost Calais. But, above all, she tried to stamp out Protestantism from the land, and, whether she realised it or not, she established it firmly in the hearts of the English people.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE IN TUDOR TIMES

ALTHOUGH there were many small towns and a few ports in England at the beginning of the Tudor period, and although a few sailors and fishermen toiled upon the sea and a few workmen in the towns and villages, the great mass of people lived in the country. England was not a land of townsmen nor of seamen, but of farmers. In earlier times many of them had been serfs, bound to work on the lands of their lords, but by the accession of Henry VII serfdom was almost a thing of the past. Most Englishmen were free.

For some time before the beginning of the Tudor period a good deal of cultivated land had been turned into pasture land. Instead of corn being grown, sheep were reared on some estates and wool was produced. This change was made because at certain times labour had been scarce, and a pasture farm does not require so many shepherds as an arable estate of the same size needs labourers. Further, there was a ready market in the Netherlands for all the wool that England could produce. Much land, of course, continued to be cultivated, and the change to pasture was chiefly in eastern England. It was possible to use the many rivers which flow towards the North Sea to carry the wool to the coast, whence it could be sent to the Netherlands.

This pasture-farming resulted in many people being driven from the land on which they had earned a living, and most of them, having no other means of life, resorted to begging and robbery. Bands of beggars appeared throughout the country. Things grew worse in the early Tudor period. Pasture-farming was extended. When Henry VII forbade nobles to keep retainers, thousands of men who had lived as hangers-on in baronial castles were turned adrift, men who had fought in the Wars of the Roses and who had neither the desire nor the opportunity to work. Such men swelled the numbers of the vagrants. While the monasteries remained the worst effects of these evils were not felt, since monastic charity was extended

to all who asked for it. But when the monasteries were dissolved the workless were faced with absolute starvation. Doles of bread and ale ceased. The monks as a rule had cultivated their estates, but some of the new owners of monastic lands turned them into pasture, and before the end of Henry VIII's reign the amount of poverty and distress was very serious indeed. In the reign of Henry VIII an attempt was made to deal with the problem. It was assumed that beggars were lazy people who preferred idleness to work, and it was ordered that they should be punished for not being in settled employment. The famous Whipping Law was passed. Every person found begging without licence was to be whipped twice, "on his bare back, until his back be bloody by reason of such whipping." After the whipping he was to receive a certificate that he had been whipped and he might then beg his way from place to place until he reached his native town or village, where he was expected to settle down to work. Soldiers who had been wounded in the wars and were unable to work were given a licence to beg, which seems to have been the Tudor substitute for a pension.

This brutal law had little effect in reducing the number of beggars in the country, and in the reign of Edward VI an even more barbarous law succeeded it—the Branding Statute. A person caught wandering without employment was to be branded with the letter V (for Vagabond) and be compelled to work as a slave for his captor for the space of three years, during which time he was to be fed on bread and water and broken meats and was to be kept at work with stripes. If, later on, he was again caught, he was to be branded with an S (for Slave) and was to be enslaved for life. If he attempted to escape he was to be punished with death. This law, however, was soon repealed.

The distress of the people in the eastern counties led to a very serious rebellion in 1549. Thousands of people gathered under Robert Kett on Mousehold Heath, near Norwich, and a court was held by the rebels under a large oak-tree, at which landowners were tried for their "offences" against the people. The popular complaints were that labourers could get no employment because of the extensive changes from arable to pasture, that the common pasture in the villages, on which the peasants had formerly grazed their oxen, had been seized by the lords and added to their pasture-farms, and that the rents

of farms were unduly high. The rebellion was put down and the poor continued to suffer.

In the reign of Queen Mary an attempt was made to relieve the poor. It was ordered that collections were to be made in churches and that the money was to be used for the benefit of the poor in the parish.

In the reign of Elizabeth more vigorous efforts were made to deal with the question, which, indeed, became somewhat less serious as time went on. In 1572 the Netherlands revolted against Spain and fighting continued till 1609. The cloth industry was ruined, and there was no longer any demand for English wool. Some of the English pasture-farms returned to the plough, and more people were again employed on the land. Others found an occupation in going to sea, for at this time Englishmen began to venture to the Spanish Main, and there were many hardy folk who found a life of piratical exploits to their liking. Trade and industry revived. Yet there were still many poor, and Elizabeth laid down the principle that every parish should keep its own poor, and that a house should be provided in which they should live and be made to toil. Various laws were passed, but the great Poor Law of 1601 settled these principles. It further enacted that pauper children should be apprenticed to a trade, so that upon growing up they might be able to earn their own living and be no longer a burden upon the parish. The cost of the relief of the poor was met partly by the fines levied on Roman Catholics and partly by a poor-rate which all householders were called upon to pay.

CHAPTER XIV

ELIZABETH'S RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT

WHEN Elizabeth came to the throne upon her sister's death in 1558 she had many important questions to settle. The problem that required her immediate attention was that of religion. Within a quarter of a century men had seen many changes. The faith of the people and their manner of worship had been ordered anew every few years. Elizabeth hoped to make a settlement that should be more lasting and that should be acceptable, as far as possible, to the whole nation, or, at least, to the great majority.

Several courses were open from which she might make her choice. She might follow her sister's policy, maintain the connection with Rome and continue to burn Protestants. A timid woman would probably have done this. Such a course would have secured the support of King Philip, who wanted to marry her in order to continue the English alliance against France. During Mary's reign Elizabeth had acted as a devout Catholic and had attended mass. But she was a Tudor, and was too fond of power to wish to yield it to either the Pope or the King of Spain. Or she might follow her brother's policy and become Protestant. She had little liking for this. And, again, she might follow her father's policy and maintain a Church Catholic in doctrine and worship but with the Crown at the head instead of the Pope.

Her personal preference was towards the last of these lines of policy, and as far as she could she pursued it. But times had changed, and she could not do exactly what Henry had done. He had been successful because he did not disturb the religion of the people. They had always been Catholic, and they were allowed to remain Catholic to the end of his reign. But as a result of the Marian persecution many people had become Protestant, and a settlement that would meet with the approval of the English nation must take into account this growing Protestant feeling.

At the very beginning of her reign Elizabeth stopped the burnings and ordered that no more were to take place. A Parliament met and passed a number of acts which were the basis of the religious settlement. An Act of Supremacy was passed which ended the authority of the Pope in England, and made the Queen head of the Church, although the actual title conferred upon her was "Supreme Governor," and not, as in Henry's case, "Supreme Head." Monasteries which Mary had restored were again dissolved and their lands passed to the Crown. If this had been all the settlement would have been a restoration of Henry VIII's system. But more followed. A Book of Common Prayer was issued, containing the services which were to be used in Divine worship in churches. It was in the English language, and was based mainly on the second book of the reign of Edward VI, but with certain parts taken from the first book. The Prayer Book was so framed as to satisfy, as far as possible, the opinions of both Catholics and Protestants, and some things in it were stated in such vague language that they might be interpreted in the one way or in the other. The Queen would not go so far as her brother, however, in allowing the clergy to marry. No permission was given, though, as a matter of fact, many priests did marry without permission.

As has been stated, Elizabeth hoped that her arrangements would prove acceptable to the nation as a whole. She believed that few men were really eager for the continuance of papal authority. Many, however, especially in the north of England, were still Catholic in opinion, and the Prayer Book contained little or nothing with which they could not agree. The growing volume of Protestant opinion might also, she thought, be satisfied by it. But it was hardly to be expected that nobody at all would be found to criticise the settlement, and she had to decide how to deal with those who would not fall into line. To burn them would be to repeat her sister's mistake. To make men endure martyrdom for the sake of their religion might convert thousands to their views. Elizabeth decided, therefore, to make no heresy law. Men were not punished in her reign for holding religious opinions which differed from those of the Queen. The simple requirement imposed upon all men was that they should attend church. Those who persistently refused were termed recusants, and the penalty for recusancy was a fine of one shilling per month. Elizabeth

thus differed from her sister in that she punished men for recusancy, while Mary punished them for heresy. The greater humanity of Elizabeth's course of action is shown in the marked difference between the penalties exacted, and its superior wisdom is equally evident. An inquiry into men's opinions, made with a view to supporting a charge of heresy, can never be quite satisfactory. There can be no evidence beyond what is supplied by the accused person, and he may not speak the truth. The hypocrite and the liar may be acquitted while the honest, conscientious man is condemned. But recusancy, which is merely absence from church, is easily tested.

For the first twelve years of the reign the religious settlement seemed to be successful. Most of the nation accepted it, at least to the extent of attending church, and the number of recusants was small. Even the Papists attended, though they did not approve, and so avoided any penalty.

But a great blow was made at the settlement in 1570. In that year the Pope issued a bull in which he excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth, declaring her to be no longer Queen of England. He absolved her subjects from their allegiance and ordered them to cease attendance at services of the English Church. The English answer was made in the following year, when Parliament met and passed an act declaring it to be high treason for any one in England to call the Queen a heretic, a usurper, or an infidel. It must be acknowledged that this was a most reasonable enactment. The Queen would have been unworthy of her position if she had not taken steps to defend herself from the effect of the papal pronouncement. And the nation would have deserved to be subjected to Rome and to Spain if it had not shown its resentment, in the most emphatic way possible, at the attempt of a foreign bishop to interfere in English affairs and to say who should or who should not rule this country.

Roman Catholics were now in a difficult position. To obey both Pope and Queen was henceforth impossible. Those who remained loyal to the Queen were disobedient to the Pope, and could hardly be regarded in future as Roman Catholics. To obey the Pope was to be disloyal to the Queen. Yet for several years the penalties for recusancy remained unchanged, and Papists who refused to attend church were subject only to the usual fines so long as they said or did nothing against

the Queen. But many of them were involved in plots against Elizabeth on behalf of Mary Stuart, who was by this time a prisoner in England. This was of course treason, and the inevitable penalty followed. Thus, many Roman Catholics suffered death in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and this has given rise to the statement that Elizabeth persecuted Roman Catholics as her sister persecuted Protestants. But the essential difference is that Mary imposed the penalty of death for heresy, while Elizabeth put men to death for treason, and that this would not have been necessary if the Pope had not forced Elizabeth to defend herself when he pronounced her to be no longer Queen of England.

Definite attempts were made by Roman Catholics abroad to recover their lost ground in England. A wealthy English Roman Catholic named William Allen founded a college at Douai (it was afterwards removed to Rheims) at which young English Roman Catholics could be trained as priests who should work for the reconversion of their country to obedience to the Pope. Douai priests, often called seminary priests, appeared in this country in and after 1577 and worked secretly to revive the authority of their Church. In 1580 a Jesuit mission, equally secret and equally perilous, began. These missionaries made some converts, if not many. It is impossible to say how many. But at least they revived the waning courage of English Roman Catholics, who were becoming fewer and fewer and were regarding their cause as hopelessly lost. The priests worked in secret, visiting one place after another, going from hall to farmhouse, from farmhouse to cottage, from cottage to mansion. Wherever their adherents lived they were sheltered. Wherever a few of the faithful could be gathered together mass was celebrated, with little or none of the accustomed ceremonial. They were in peril, and were occasionally caught. In 1581 the law was made more severe. Recusancy fines were increased to twenty pounds per month. In 1585 all Jesuit and seminary priests were ordered to depart from the country within forty days on pain of death. They did not go, and after this date the result of being caught was to suffer death. In many country houses they lay in "priest-holes," constructed in the thickness of the walls and reached by secret stairways, while search parties sought them. It is impossible to withhold admiration of the bravery shown by these priests in a cause they believed to be true and right. Yet it is equally impossible

to blame Elizabeth for the stern measures taken against them. If they succeeded in their aims her throne would be lost. To a man they regarded Mary Stuart as rightful Queen of England. If they succeeded England would become subject to the Pope again. It was inevitable that the hunting of popish priests should continue till the end of the reign.

Elizabeth's religious settlement was attacked from another side. During the Marian persecution some English Protestants had taken refuge at Geneva and had become ardent Calvinists. They returned to this country at the accession of Elizabeth and formed the Puritan, or extreme Protestant, party. By no means numerous at first, they certainly increased in numbers during the reign. They were utterly dissatisfied with the moderate character of the Church as settled by Elizabeth, and aimed at bringing about further changes in the direction of Protestantism. Much of the ceremonial that remained seemed to them to be a relic of popery, and they wanted its abolition. They disapproved of the wearing of the surplice by the clergy, they objected to bowing the head, to kneeling at communion, to the use of the ring in the marriage ceremony, to the sign of the cross. Some of them were much more extreme in their views than others. While most of them remained within the Church and hoped for the changes which they thought needful, some left it altogether and attempted to form separate congregations. These latter were called "sectaries" or "separatists," or, after one of their leaders, Robert Browne, "Brownists." With them originated the "Independent" group of Puritans, which became extremely powerful for a time in the Stuart period. Others wished for the abolition of bishops in the Church, thus making it similar to the Church of Scotland after 1560.

Cardinal Pole died within twenty-four hours of Queen Mary, and Elizabeth shortly after her accession filled the vacant Archbishopric of Canterbury by appointing Matthew Parker, who held it till his death in 1575. Inspired by the Queen he issued in 1565 his "Advertisements," warning the Puritans that they must conform to the rules of the Church, and, in particular, directing clergy of Puritan views to wear surplices while conducting Divine worship in church. From this it may be assumed that some of them, in defiance of Church custom, were neglecting to wear appropriate robes. Further trouble with the Puritans was experienced a few years later,

when a Cambridge Professor of Divinity, of Puritan views, one Thomas Cartwright, was removed from his post.

Edmund Grindal was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1575 to 1583. He was more sympathetic with the Puritans than Parker had been. In many places Puritans held religious meetings of their own in addition to Church services. The Queen disapproved of them and directed Grindal to suppress them. He declined to do this and was suspended from his archbishopric. It is probable that Elizabeth would have removed him altogether from his post had not his death occurred at this time.

John Whitgift succeeded Grindal and was Archbishop till 1604. He was a bitter opponent of the Puritan faction and took strong action against those who preached and wrote against the bishops. Pamphlets were sometimes issued anonymously, but severe punishment was meted out to their authors if they were found. A not uncommon form of penalty was the striking off of the right hand—a grim expression of sixteenth-century humour, since the loss of this member would make it difficult for a man to repeat his offence.

The increasing persecution of the Puritans for their opposition to the bishops and the ceremonial of the Church, and of the Papists for their disloyalty to the Queen, indicates that Elizabeth had not fully succeeded in her purpose. She had not secured complete national unity in religion. Yet she had attained a large measure of unity. It must be remembered that the great mass of the people were neither Papist nor Puritan, and that Englishmen as a whole had confidence in the Queen and approved of her Church settlement. That its success was only partial was due to causes entirely beyond her control.

CHAPTER XV

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN THE TUDOR PERIOD

THE rivalry of the Queens of England and Scotland, which was so marked a feature of the reign of Elizabeth, cannot be fully understood without some consideration of Scottish history in the sixteenth century. Scotland, the northern kingdom of Great Britain, was only half as large as England. It was cold and bleak and barren, and supported a much smaller population than its southern neighbour. It had from time to time been in danger of conquest by the English, and since the efforts of Edward I to establish himself as its King it had been continuously hostile to England. As France also was unfriendly towards England on account of English attempts to obtain the French crown, Scotland and France maintained an alliance on the basis of their common antagonism towards England. Border fighting between English and Scots was of frequent occurrence, and whenever England engaged in war on the continent a Scottish invasion of the northern counties was to be expected.

The general aim of Tudor policy was to establish more friendly relations with Scotland. Henry VII was at first not very successful in this respect. James IV (1488–1513) received Perkin Warbeck, and only consented to expel him under threat of English invasion. Some years later, however, a better understanding prevailed, and a marriage took place in 1503 between James IV and Margaret Tudor, elder daughter of Henry VII. As has been stated elsewhere, royal marriages in the sixteenth century were regarded as expressions of alliance, and England and Scotland remained on good terms for the next ten years.

In 1513, however, Henry VIII, being at war with France, crossed with an army to Flanders and fought the Guinegatte campaign. The Scots were thus in a position to determine whether they should remain faithful to their new friendship by keeping quiet, or should follow old tradition by attacking

England in the absence of the English King. James invaded England, but was met at Flodden by an army under the Earl of Surrey. The Scots experienced one of the severest defeats ever inflicted upon them. Their King was slain, and their army was almost totally destroyed.

The new King, James V, was a boy, and his mother, Margaret, ruled for a time as Regent, and upheld English interests. But before long the party among the nobles which preferred the French alliance gained the upper hand, and as James V himself grew old enough to rule his country he showed a preference for the French connection. Henry VIII did his best to bring about friendly relations with his nephew. He tried, without success, to arrange a meeting with him, and he made efforts to persuade James to enrich himself by dissolving Scottish monasteries. But James married Mary of Guise, a lady of one of the most powerful families in France. Her brother, the Duke of Guise, was a leader of the Catholic party in France, and two other brothers were Cardinals. By this marriage the continuance of a French and Catholic policy in Scotland was assured. James at length made war upon England, but the Scots were decisively defeated at Solway Moss in 1542, and the King died shortly after, leaving his crown to his infant daughter Mary, the famous Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.

Mary of Guise assumed the regency and the French alliance continued. Yet Henry VIII did not despair of bringing about more cordial relations. His son Edward was only a few years older than the child-Queen Mary, and he proposed that a marriage should be arranged between them. The idea was little to the liking of the Regent, who, however, was afraid to reject it forthwith. Negotiations were begun, but they broke down, and in 1544 an English army under the Earl of Hertford invaded Scotland and ravaged the Lowlands. It is difficult to see how the marriage could be promoted by the plundering of towns and the burning of villages and the massacre of peasants, and, indeed, the Scots turned from the proposal in anger.

Edward became King in 1547 and Hertford became Protector and Duke of Somerset. He revived the idea of a marriage between the King of England and the Queen of Scotland, and for the second time invaded Scotland to forward it. He defeated the Scots at the Battle of Pinkie, though much of the

credit for the victory should go to the Earl of Warwick. But the Scots sent their young Queen to France, and Somerset's plan failed. For the next fourteen years Mary Stuart was in France under the protection of the Guises. At the age of sixteen she married the Dauphin, who soon afterwards became King of France as Francis II. Mary was thus, by 1559, Queen of Scotland and France. Francis II, however, died in 1560 and Mary at the age of eighteen was a widow.

Meanwhile, her mother ruled in Scotland. A group of Protestants had appeared, and they had been persecuted by the Regent and by Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Beaton was murdered as the result of a Protestant plot, and his murderers seized the castle of St. Andrews, where they defended themselves against the troops sent by the Regent to capture them. This was in 1547, and one of the aims Somerset had in mind in invading Scotland was to relieve the besieged Protestants. He failed in this, and they were taken and punished.

John Knox was a Scottish Protestant who had not been involved in Beaton's death, but who joined his murderers at St. Andrews because, as he said, "he gloried in their godly act." He was sent to the galleys in France, but was released and came to England. When Mary Tudor became Queen of England he went to Geneva for a time, but at length he returned to Scotland to preach Protestantism, which hitherto had made little headway. He met with much success, and was protected by a group of Scottish Protestant nobles who called themselves Lords of the Congregation. Some of them were sincere Protestants, and others were willing to uphold the Protestant cause because the Crown was opposed to it. The outbreak of a riot at Perth after Knox had preached there led to fighting between the Lords and the Regent's troops. The Lords were victorious and captured Edinburgh.

Mary of Guise applied to France for help, and, as her daughter was by this time Queen of France as well as Queen of Scotland, help was readily sent. The Lords would certainly be overwhelmed upon the arrival of the French unless they, too, could obtain outside assistance, and they applied to Elizabeth, who had recently ascended the English throne. Elizabeth was reluctant to intervene in Scottish religious quarrels, but she could not refuse to support the Lords at this time. For Mary Stuart had refused to recognise Elizabeth as Queen of England and had put forth her own claim to the English

throne, and if the French troops reached Scotland and scattered the Lords of the Congregation they might well march into England and attack Elizabeth. To help the Lords, therefore, was necessary if she would consider her own safety.

French troops arrived at Leith, but an English force opposed them immediately upon landing. About this time, however, Mary of Guise died, and an agreement was reached between the foreign military commanders and the Lords of the Congregation. By this Treaty of Edinburgh, 1560, it was arranged that both English and French troops should retire from Scotland and that the Scottish religious question, out of which all the trouble had arisen, should be settled by the Lords. In 1561 Presbyterianism was declared to be the religion of Scotland. English and Scots were, as a result of the change, on friendlier terms than they had been at any time before, since Scottish Presbyterians were bound to look upon Elizabeth as their protector. She was, in fact, already beginning to assume the position of champion of Protestantism in Europe.

The death of the Regent left Scotland without a ruler, and as the Queen of Scots was a widow in France she decided to return to her own country and undertake its government. But she was able to achieve little. The Lords were all-powerful. The Queen retained her own religion, but she was expected to listen to sermons by Knox and other Presbyterian ministers in which her conduct was openly criticised. The roughness of life in Scotland, the poverty of the country, the rudeness of the people, contrasted painfully with life in France. Mary was essentially, by birth and upbringing, a Frenchwoman, and she soon tired of her position in Scotland. Her thoughts turned towards England and she decided to press her claim to the English throne.

Her English claim was based on the fact that Henry VIII had married Anne Boleyn while Catherine of Aragon was still living. One of these ladies might have been his lawful wife; certainly, both were not. The Roman Catholic view was that the marriage with Catherine was lawful, and that with Anne was void. Consequently, Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne, was not Henry's lawful daughter. According to this view the next heir, after the death of Mary Tudor, was Mary Stuart, who was a granddaughter of Margaret Tudor and James IV, and the next in succession to Mary was Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, a descendant of Margaret Tudor and her second

husband, the Earl of Angus. In 1565 Mary married Darnley, and this action was regarded as evidence of her intention to push her English claim. The marriage was a mistake, however, for the Queen and her husband had nothing in common, and they soon quarrelled. Mary relied for companionship upon her secretary, David Rizzio, an Italian, of whom Darnley became violently jealous. In 1566 Rizzio was murdered in Holyrood Palace, almost in the Queen's presence, by a gang of ruffians directed by Darnley, and though a reconciliation took place between Darnley and Mary the Queen intended to avenge her friend's death. In 1567 Darnley fell ill with smallpox and lay in a lonely house called Kirk o' Field. One night the house was blown up. Yet Darnley must have had notice of a plot to kill him, for his body was discovered next day at some distance from the house. In attempting to escape before the destruction of the house he must have met with the conspirators and been dispatched by their swords.

The murder created a tremendous stir. Mary was, of course, not openly implicated in it at first, since she was known to have been in Edinburgh at the time it occurred. It was generally believed that James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, was responsible for Darnley's death, and the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, accused him of the murder. Bothwell was ordered to surrender for trial at Edinburgh, but he appeared at the head of a large body of retainers who surrounded the court-house and forced the court to acquit him. Shortly afterwards, Mary married Bothwell. Although, apparently, she was violently carried off and forced into the marriage, few men believed that the whole affair was not stage-managed. Her enemies were delighted, for in marrying Bothwell Mary had committed a fatal mistake. Her marriage with the man who was believed to have murdered Darnley implicated her in that crime. If she had been entirely innocent of Darnley's death she would never have married Bothwell.

The Lords of the Congregation took up arms against the Queen, and Bothwell with Mary met them at Carberry Hill. The Lords carried everything before them. Bothwell fled overseas and died not long after in Denmark. But Mary was captured and brought to Edinburgh under close guard. She was forced to sign a document by which she resigned her crown to her infant son James, the offspring of her marriage with Darnley. The Lords then consigned her to a castle on

an island in the middle of Loch Leven, there to pass the remainder of her life.

Mary lived at Loch Leven Castle for about a year, and then escaped. She still had adherents, and raised forces to meet the army sent against her by the Lords, but she was defeated at Langside. This time, however, she evaded her enemies, and, taking a bold course, rode towards England. With her entry into England her connection with Scotland ceased, and her later life will be described in the next chapter.

With the fall of Mary the Lords remained all-powerful in Scotland, and James VI was reared under tutors and guardians appointed by them. He was brought up as a Presbyterian—the first Stuart not of the Roman Catholic faith. The regency was held in succession by the Earls of Moray, Mar, Lennox, and Morton. Scotland, now definitely Presbyterian, had no longer any reason to prefer the French to the English alliance. James, when he grew up, took the same line. Though his mother was a prisoner in England he was on friendly terms with Elizabeth, and when Mary was beheaded he made no more than formal protest. He has been severely censured for this, and it is not easy to defend the conduct of a man who will not act strongly on behalf of his mother. But it may be remembered that at the time of Mary's death James was only twenty years old, that he was surrounded by determined nobles who regarded Mary as a wicked woman, and that he could not have been ignorant of his mother's share in the death of his father.

James had high hopes of succession to the throne of England at the death of Queen Elizabeth, and he kept in touch by correspondence with many of the leading men of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. The Queen granted him a small pension and, though during her life she was reluctant to name a successor, while she lay dying she named the King of Scots, who became King of England as James I.

Tudor policy of establishing better relations between England and Scotland thus succeeded only during the last Tudor reign. Earlier efforts, based on nothing more solid than marriages and marriage proposals, broke down in the face of the ancient dislike and fear of the larger kingdom by the smaller. It was only when the religious question came to the front and both countries supported the Reformation (though in different degrees) against the Catholic powers that friendship was found to be possible.

CHAPTER XVI

MARY STUART IN ENGLAND

When Mary decided to cross the border and enter England she took a bold step. She was escaping from her enemies in Scotland by throwing herself on the mercy of her enemy in England, a Queen whose very right to the title she had hitherto declined to recognise. Nevertheless, from Carlisle she sent a message to Elizabeth requesting her to grant her a safe-conduct through England to France. Mary, as a Dowager Queen of France, had an obvious right to live in that country, and, indeed, the happiest years of her life had been spent there.

The problem thus presented to Elizabeth was not easy to solve. It was, indeed, possible to send Mary under guard back to Scotland, where the Lords would probably take strong precautions against a second escape. To do this, however, was not to Elizabeth's liking. To treat a rival fallen upon misfortune in such a way would be ungenerous, and would not enhance Elizabeth's reputation. Mary was not returned to Scotland.

To grant the safe-conduct and permit Mary to go to France was a course to which serious objections presented themselves. Mary was still young and ambitious, and though she had been thrice widowed it could not be expected that she would not find a fourth husband. With the Guise power to support her she would certainly scheme to obtain the English crown. Mary in France would be a source of danger to Elizabeth.

The remaining possibility was to keep Mary a prisoner in England. Yet this was open to objections of almost equal weight. Elizabeth would be taking advantage of the misfortune of another Queen and would have little legal right to detain her, since Mary was not an English subject. English Roman Catholics regarded Mary as rightful Queen, and it was certain that from time to time they would plot to establish her on the throne. Mary in England would be the centre of treasonable intrigues.

Thus to each possible course objections could be raised.

Elizabeth decided that to keep her rival in England would be the safer course, since a sharper eye could be kept on plots in this country than in France. A spy service could be organised, and the Scottish Queen might be hampered in her efforts in various ways which would not be possible if she were in France and at liberty. Elizabeth, however, naturally did not care to announce that she intended to keep Mary in England in order to watch her, and declared her readiness to permit her to leave for France as soon as her complicity in the murder of Lord Darnley had been disproved—a condition to which Mary could hardly object, yet with which she would find it difficult to comply.

A Commission, under the presidency of the Duke of Norfolk, sat at York to investigate, nominally, the conduct of the Lords of the Congregation; really, Mary's conduct. The Lords sent to the Commission, as evidence of Mary's guilt, a box of letters said to have been discovered at Holyrood after the Battle of Carberry Hill and the deposition of the Scottish Queen. These letters, if genuine, would leave little doubt on the matter. Mary's defenders replied that they were forgeries, and much discussion has since arisen on this question. But the true evidence of Mary's guilt does not depend upon them. If they were genuine she was guilty; if they were forged it does not follow that she was innocent. Mary's marriage with Bothwell is the circumstance which points to her having been involved in Darnley's murder. The Commission came to no definite decision, and Mary remained in England.

Her hopes now rested on the activity of her English adherents. The Duke of Norfolk, president of the Commission and the only English Duke, was a Roman Catholic, and a scheme was evolved for his marriage with Mary. He was arrested and the plan fell through. It was probably treasonable, for it is difficult to believe that he would have had no intention of placing his wife on the English throne. Yet it was not easy to prove the plan to be treasonable and Norfolk, on promising to drop the proposal, was released.

In 1569 a Roman Catholic rising occurred in the north—the region where Papists were still numerous. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland occupied Durham Castle and Cathedral, and the Latin mass was celebrated there. But upon the approach of royal troops they fled overseas, and the effort collapsed.

The excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth by the Pope in 1570 placed English Roman Catholics in the position of having to choose definitely between Mary and Elizabeth, and although many remained loyal to Elizabeth many others engaged in treasonable intrigues on behalf of her rival. A very serious plot was formed in the year 1571. The Duke of Norfolk was again involved in it. At this time the Netherlands were on the verge of revolt, and a large Spanish army under the Duke of Alva was present to suppress possible disorder. The plotters hoped for a sudden Spanish invasion by Alva's army, and the consequent deposition of Elizabeth and the elevation of Mary to the throne. Communication between the two Dukes was carried on through the agency of a banker named Ridolfi, who had business affairs in both London and the Netherlands and who, consequently, could travel frequently between the two countries without arousing suspicion. But spies were at work and at the right moment both Norfolk and Ridolfi were arrested, and in due course they were put to death. The effect of the incident was to damage Mary's cause in England. This definite proof of the lengths to which her adherents were prepared to go rallied Englishmen to the support of their Queen. For many years no further effort was made on behalf of Mary, who lived under the guardianship of English nobles in whose charge she was placed.

In 1583 a plot to assassinate Elizabeth was arranged. From one of the conspirators it was called Throgmorton's plot, but the prime movers were Jesuit priests. Discovery of the plot was, as usual, followed by the execution of the plotters, and the fact that the Spanish ambassador was implicated in it brought about his dismissal from the country. In order to protect the Queen a Bond of Association was formed. Many thousands of Englishmen took an oath to the effect that, if the Queen were assassinated, they would exact vengeance upon any one who profited by her death. If, therefore, Mary came to the English throne as the result of Elizabeth's assassination she would begin her reign with the knowledge that a large number of her subjects were sworn to kill her, and though many might fail in the attempt it was probable that, sooner or later, one would succeed.

Yet another conspiracy to murder Elizabeth was planned in 1586. The arch-plotter was a Douai priest, Father Ballard, although the plot is referred to as Babington's, from Anthony

Babington, who was involved in it. It met with no more success than earlier efforts, from which it differs, however, in that definite evidence was obtained that Mary had a guilty knowledge of it. No such proof of Mary's complicity in the earlier plots had been found, but in this case it was clear that she consented to it, and a reasonable ground was afforded for putting her to death. Elizabeth hesitated for some time, but at length yielded to the persuasions of her advisers, and Mary was beheaded at Fotheringay in February, 1587.

It can hardly be doubted that if Elizabeth had wished to destroy her rival earlier some pretext could have been found, and it may be thought remarkable that this should not have been done in order to stop the succession of assassination plots. Elizabeth, however, had a definite reason for keeping Mary alive. She was quite aware that a war with Spain was inevitable. The religious question in Europe could not be settled without conflict between the champions of Roman Catholicism and of Protestantism. But she wished to postpone the fight as long as possible, since with the passing of time England was increasing in strength and Spanish power was being sapped in the Netherlands and elsewhere. Every year gained was of advantage to England. Elizabeth believed, moreover, that Philip would not attack her while Mary lived. The Roman Catholic view was that Mary was rightful Queen of England, and if Philip conquered England he could hardly do otherwise than enthrone her. But Mary was closely connected with France, and as Queen of England she would be on good terms with that country, with which Philip was by no means friendly, and he was reluctant to act, even in the cause of religion, in such a way as to strengthen one of his enemies. While Mary lived he would not attack England. At her death the chief objection to a war against England was removed. Elizabeth understood these circumstances well, and realised that by keeping Mary alive or putting her to death she could postpone or precipitate an attack from Spain. While England was growing in strength Mary continued to live; when nothing more was to be gained by waiting Mary died. Her execution occurred in February, 1587; the Armada came in the summer of 1588.

CHAPTER XVII

MARITIME ACTIVITY IN THE TUDOR PERIOD

In the Middle Ages the English were not a seafaring race. In those remote times when Angles, Saxons, and Jutes lived in Germany, before their settlement in this country, they were active as pirates in the North Sea. But in Britain they became a race of farmers and lost their taste for maritime adventure. This state of affairs continued throughout the Middle Ages and, although at long intervals naval battles were fought, there is little trace of real liking for the sea. There was not much foreign trade, and much of such trade as existed was carried on in foreign ships, belonging to Hanse merchants from north Germany, to Dutch traders, to Gascon wine-merchants, and to Venetians.

In the reign of Henry VII voyages were made from Bristol in 1497 and 1498 by John Cabot to Newfoundland and the mainland of North America. But Cabot was not an Englishman, and little resulted from his travels.

English maritime activity really began in the reign of Henry VIII. Despite many faults Henry was a great King. He realised the political importance of the separation of this country from the continent by the narrow seas. He understood that England must be defended on the sea, and he built ships for the Royal Navy. Monastic wealth was used for purposes of coast defence and harbour improvement. He established Trinity House and entrusted to that body the work of providing lighthouses and lightships, buoys and beacons, and the various marks which make the English coast safe for navigation. He encouraged men to go fishing on the Newfoundland banks, and he honoured with his friendship and patronage merchants who built ships and developed overseas trade.

In the troubled times which followed his death a new form of maritime activity arose. Men of the south-west built ships

for piratical purposes. While Mary was burning Protestants in England and Philip was burning them in Spain and the Netherlands, men of Devon and Cornwall ventured out into the Channel in small, well-built, well-rigged, speedy vessels in which they attacked galleons trading between Spain and Flanders, and they secured many a prize. Though this was piracy, it was piracy with a religious and a national colouring. It was Protestant and English, and the object of attack was Catholic Spain. These Channel Rovers had to be very good seamen, for the penalty of capture was death. They continued their efforts throughout Elizabeth's reign. Philip complained again and again, and Elizabeth, in the earlier years of her reign, promised to suppress them. Proclamations were issued and were disregarded. The Rovers knew their Queen, and had no fear that she would stop exploits which were weakening Spain and providing England with a body of good seamen at no cost to herself.

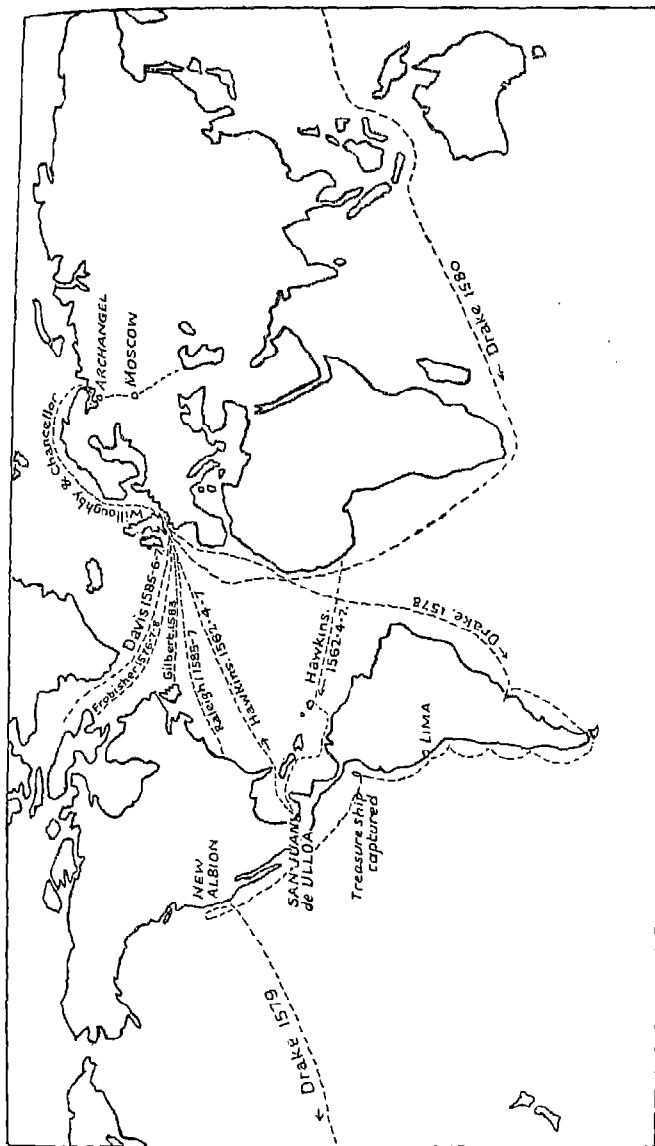
The reign of Elizabeth saw a great development of English seamanship. The nation realised that a conflict with Spain was inevitable. For the waging of war, ships and men and money were needed. Spain had the advantage of a continuous supply of treasure from the mines of the New World, and the aim of English seamen was to secure for their country a share of the wealth of the recently discovered lands overseas. By four different methods Englishmen tried, with more or less success, to realise this aim.

One way of obtaining wealth was by trading. The secret of successful trading was to find that a necessary article was scarce and dear in one place and plentiful and cheap in another, and to transport it in sufficient quantities from the one place to the other. In the Spanish colonies labour was scarce. The Spaniards themselves would not, and, in a tropical climate, could not condescend to manual labour. They had attempted to enslave the native Indians, who, accustomed to hunting, had rapidly died off under conditions involving regular toil. It occurred to John Hawkins, an English merchant, that the Spanish labour problem might be solved by the importation of African negroes. It was true that Spanish rules forbade the carrying on of trade with Spanish colonies by any but the ships of the official Colonial Company of Seville, but Hawkins reckoned little of this prohibition. In 1562, with three ships, he visited West Africa, obtained cargoes of negroes, and crossed

the Atlantic with them. Visiting various ports, he was forbidden by governors and customs officials to do any trade. But he found that the colonists were eager to buy his negroes and that the officials had no force with which to back up their prohibition. He sold his slaves, bought colonial produce, and returned to England, having made substantial profits on the round voyage. The whole adventure had taken more than a year, and in 1564 he repeated it—this time with four ships. He had more difficulty in obtaining his slaves and more difficulty in disposing of them. Yet by threatening to use force he was successful, and again made a profit. His third venture, in 1567, was with five ships, and after he had disposed of his cargo of slaves he put into the harbour of San Juan de Ulloa, near Vera Cruz, to refit for the homeward voyage. A Spanish fleet of war appeared outside the harbour, and Hawkins was trapped! Philip II, much incensed at the illegal proceedings of the Englishman, had sent out a fleet to uphold his prohibition of colonial trade with foreigners. The Spanish admiral promised to allow Hawkins to depart, but broke his word, for when the English ships left the harbour they were attacked, and three were sunk. (Four Spanish ships were sunk in the battle.) Only the ships commanded by Hawkins himself and by his young cousin Francis Drake, who was making his first voyage to the Spanish Main, escaped. Had the Spanish admiral been able to foresee the future he would have done well to concentrate his attack upon Drake's ship and let the rest escape! This was the end of open trading, although from time to time bold captains continued, with varying degrees of success, to attempt a little smuggling, with which they mixed a little piracy.

Drake was a Devon man whose knowledge of the sea had been gained as a Channel Rover. It seemed to him that a better way of securing the desired end of obtaining New World wealth was to apply Channel Rover methods to the Spanish Main. After his first crossing of the Atlantic in the company of Hawkins he made many voyages and distinguished himself by vigorous and successful attacks upon Spanish ships and settlements. England and Spain were not at war, and Drake did not hold the Queen's commission, so that he would certainly have suffered as a pirate had he been captured. On one occasion he crossed the Isthmus of Darien and saw the Pacific Ocean. He resolved to sail upon it, and in 1577 he started

on the most famous of all his voyages. It is probable that he had no intention of sailing round the world when he set out. There is some reason to believe that on this occasion he held the Queen's commission. With five ships he skirted the South American coast. Difficulties arose, but mutineers were hanged and storms were weathered, and Drake at last reached the Pacific, though with only one ship, the *Pelican*, which he renamed the *Golden Hind*. Sailing northward, he learned that it was possible for him to overtake the treasure-ship which bore the year's produce of the Peruvian mines from Lima to the Isthmus. The vessel was slow and without means of defence, since the Spaniards never dreamed of piratical attack in the Pacific. It fell an easy prey to Drake, and he continued his voyage northward. He probably intended to return to England by rounding the north of North America, then unmapped and uncharted. He landed at New Albion (California), and took formal possession on behalf of Queen Elizabeth. Again sailing northward, he found that the coast trended to the north-west, and he abandoned his plan and decided to cross the Pacific. This was done and the return to England was accomplished by way of the Cape of Good Hope. In order to avoid unpleasant Spanish attentions he made a wide detour into the Atlantic when in the latitude of Spain. Drake's was the second expedition to circumnavigate the world. He arrived home in 1580, after three years' absence, during which many people must have given him up as lost. The Queen showed her appreciation of his exploit by knighting him on his own quarter-deck, and by disregarding the Spanish demand for his surrender as a pirate. He made several subsequent voyages to the Spanish Main, both before and after the Armada, but his voyage round the world will ever rank as his most notable achievement.

A third way of trying to secure New World wealth was by establishing settlements distinct from those of Spain. North America was barely touched by the Spaniards, and Sir Walter Raleigh tried to establish on its east coast a colony which he called Virginia, in honour of the Queen. Two attempts were made, in 1585 and 1587, and neither succeeded. The principles of successful colonisation were not properly understood. It was necessary for some years to elapse before a colony could be self-supporting. While the preliminary work of clearing land, building houses, and making roads and harbours was

Some Voyages of Famous English Seamen in Tudor Times

being carried on little could be produced, and food and other necessaries of life had to be supplied, while defence from hostile natives had to be arranged. The early Virginian settlers were starving when supplies were interrupted. Drake visited the first settlement, and took the remnant of the colonists on his ships. The second attempt to establish a colony in Virginia was overwhelmed by Indian attack. An effort by Sir Humphrey Gilbert to found a colony in Newfoundland was equally unsuccessful, and at the death of Elizabeth no overseas settlement had been established by Englishmen.

The remaining type of maritime enterprise was represented by efforts to discover a new route to India. It will be remembered that Spanish and Portuguese navigators, nearly a century earlier, had been inspired by a desire to solve this problem, and it was now possible to reach the East by rounding either the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. But the latter route was impracticable by reason of its great length and the former was felt to be wearisomely long. And both were under Spanish control, for Portugal was conquered by Spain in 1580, and from that time till the middle of the seventeenth century Portuguese possessions in the East and on the way to the East were under Spanish rule. English seamen in Tudor times tried to reach the East by exploring the North-East and North-West passages. In the reign of Queen Mary a voyage was undertaken by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor to reach the East by way of the north of Europe and Asia. A glance at the map (p. 89) shows the impracticability of the idea, but it must be remembered that it was through the efforts of such men as Willoughby and Chancellor that the construction of the map has been possible. These explorers reached Archangel, on the White Sea. Willoughby died, but Chancellor travelled overland to Moscow and thence to the Caspian. As a result of this voyage a company, the Muscovy or Russia Company, was formed to trade with Russia. The North-West passage—the rounding of the north coast of North America—was tried by Martin Frobisher, who made three voyages, in 1576, 1577, and 1578, and by John Davis, whose three efforts were in the years 1585, 1586, and 1587. They did not succeed, and, indeed, many subsequent attempts in later years equally failed.

It could no longer be said, as Elizabeth's reign progressed, that the English were a race of farmers, unaccustomed to the

sea. A body of seamen sprang up who gained for themselves a name for daring and enterprise which has never since been lost. Unofficially, and without help or even encouragement from the Government, this body of men prepared to defend their country in the coming crisis. Their greatest exploit, the defeat of the Armada, must be described later.

CHAPTER XVIII

ELIZABETH'S FOREIGN POLICY

WHEN Elizabeth succeeded her sister as Queen of England she had no friends among the powers of Europe. Her very title to the throne was doubtful, for, according to the Pope's pronouncement in 1534, her mother, Anne Boleyn, was not the lawful wife of Henry VIII, and she was not his legitimate daughter. In Roman Catholic eyes the rightful Queen of England was Mary Stuart, already Queen of Scotland and France. At that time, therefore, Elizabeth could count on only the hostility of both these countries.

Philip II, King of Spain, was at war with France when Mary Tudor died, and, in order that he might retain the advantage of the English alliance, he offered to marry Elizabeth. He promised that, if she married him, he would make no peace with France which did not involve the restoration of Calais to England, and he pointed out how much more secure Elizabeth would be if she had his support against her formidable rival, Mary Stuart. The offer must have been tempting to the Queen, for the Spanish monarchy was the greatest in the world, and with Philip as her husband she could afford to disregard Mary. Yet she refused the proposal. (The fact that she was not in love with Philip nor he with her hardly entered into the question.) The proposed marriage could not be celebrated without the grant of a dispensation from the Pope (for a man might not marry his dead wife's sister), and a marriage brought about in that way might in after years be annulled by an obliging Pope if ever Philip should have any reason for changing his mind. Moreover, the argument put forward by Philip did not overcome Elizabeth's reluctance to marry him, for she saw clearly that he would have to support her against Mary, whether she married him or not. If Mary became Queen of England the French monarchy would be enormously strengthened against Spain. Philip would not wish to bring this about.

For many years during the reign of Elizabeth, France was

torn by civil wars between Catholics and Huguenots. The Catholic faction was headed by the Guise family, of which Mary Stuart was a member. Elizabeth kept in touch with the Huguenots, though she gave them little actual assistance.

She was thus for many years without allies, and she made this the leading feature of her foreign policy. France and Spain still feared each other, and neither wished to drive Elizabeth into alliance with the other. She, for her part, played off each against the other. At various times negotiations were entered into for her marriage with a French prince. At first Henry, Duke of Anjou, was the prospective husband, and when he became King of France as Henry III in 1574 his brother Francis, Duke of Alençon-Anjou, became Elizabeth's suitor. But she had no intention at any time of marrying either of them. Had she done so she would have been committed to a French alliance, and Philip would have had no reason for delaying an attack upon her. Yet the negotiations served the useful purpose of postponing Spanish attack. Philip would not make war, lest by so doing he should hasten on the marriage and the Anglo-French alliance.

As the years went on it became ever more certain that war between England and Spain would break out. Elizabeth was regarded everywhere as the champion of Protestantism, and since 1570 she had been under the papal sentence of excommunication and deposition. After the revolt of the Netherlands broke out in 1572 English help was given to the rebels. English seamen were making bold attacks upon Spanish shipping in the Channel and the Spanish Main and were threatening Spanish power in many parts of the world. Philip had set his heart on the extermination of Protestantism, and this could not be accomplished while Elizabeth remained Queen of England.

Yet neither side was willing to hasten on the struggle. Philip did not wish to conquer England while Mary Stuart lived, since if he did so he would be bound to establish her as Queen of England, and this would be to the advantage of France and not of Spain. Further, if Mary became Queen of England it was quite possible that English help to the Dutch would continue. At certain times the French had sent assistance to the Dutch rebels, and an English Queen devoted to French and not to Spanish interests might continue such a course.

Nor was Elizabeth eager to bring on the crisis. An impartial observer in the earlier part of her reign would not have pronounced England capable of withstanding Spanish attack. England had been weakened by the misgovernment of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary Tudor, while Spain with her vast empire was the greatest power in the world. Yet Spanish difficulties increased as time went on, and English strength increased as well. The country was more prosperous under Elizabeth than under her predecessors. There were fewer destitute. Trade and industry were more settled. People were contented, and they trusted the Queen to guide the nation through its difficulties. And while the struggle could not be postponed for ever, it was clear to her that the longer it was put off the greater would be her chance of victory.

Though for many years Elizabeth would not break openly with Philip she was willing to sanction secret attacks upon his power. Though she gave no open support to the Rovers in the Channel, to the piratical expeditions of Drake, nor to the volunteers who assisted the Dutch, she did nothing to hinder any of them.

After the year 1580 there are indications of a bolder policy on her part. She seemed less careful to avoid giving offence to the King of Spain. She was still desirous of putting off the fight, since every year of postponement would increase her prospect of victory, but she was now more confident of the outcome of it all. This change of attitude on her part dates from the time of Drake's return from his voyage round the world. While his fate was uncertain she was in doubt. On his return she knighted him in recognition of his exploit. In 1585 laws were passed to expel Jesuit and other Roman Catholic priests from the kingdom. In 1584, after the discovery of Throgmorton's plot, she dismissed the Spanish ambassador in London on account of his complicity in it. In 1585, for the first time, an English army, under a general (the Earl of Leicester) holding the Queen's commission, crossed the North Sea to render aid to the Dutch. It achieved little, and Leicester's conduct in the command was open to criticism. But the act of sending him at all was a definite defiance to the King of Spain. Yet Philip held back. But after Mary Stuart's death in 1587 he hesitated no longer.

The Armada came in the year 1588, and the story of its defeat will be told in the following chapter. Its failure proved

the soundness of the Queen's policy. It showed that she had estimated the position properly. War with Spain continued until after her death, but England was never in real danger after the great fleet had been shattered. Philip's hopes of crushing Protestantism were destroyed. The Reformation was to survive, and the Dutch resumed their desperate fight with increased prospect of ultimate success. Elizabeth, by defending her country from attack, had enheartened every Protestant state in Europe, and henceforth she enjoyed an unparalleled reputation. Secure in the loyalty and affection of her subjects, she was regarded with admiration by the Protestants and with hatred by the Catholics of the continent.

In 1589 Henry IV, the first of the Bourbons, became King of France. He had for many years been a Huguenot, and though he professed conversion to the Catholic faith he was always well disposed to the Protestants. He brought peace to his unhappy land by issuing the Edict of Nantes in 1598, which afforded toleration to the Huguenots. For some years after his accession he was at war with Spain, so that England and France were naturally drawn together. Although he made peace with Spain in 1598, the friendship which had existed between France and England since his accession continued as a definite feature of English foreign policy for a century.

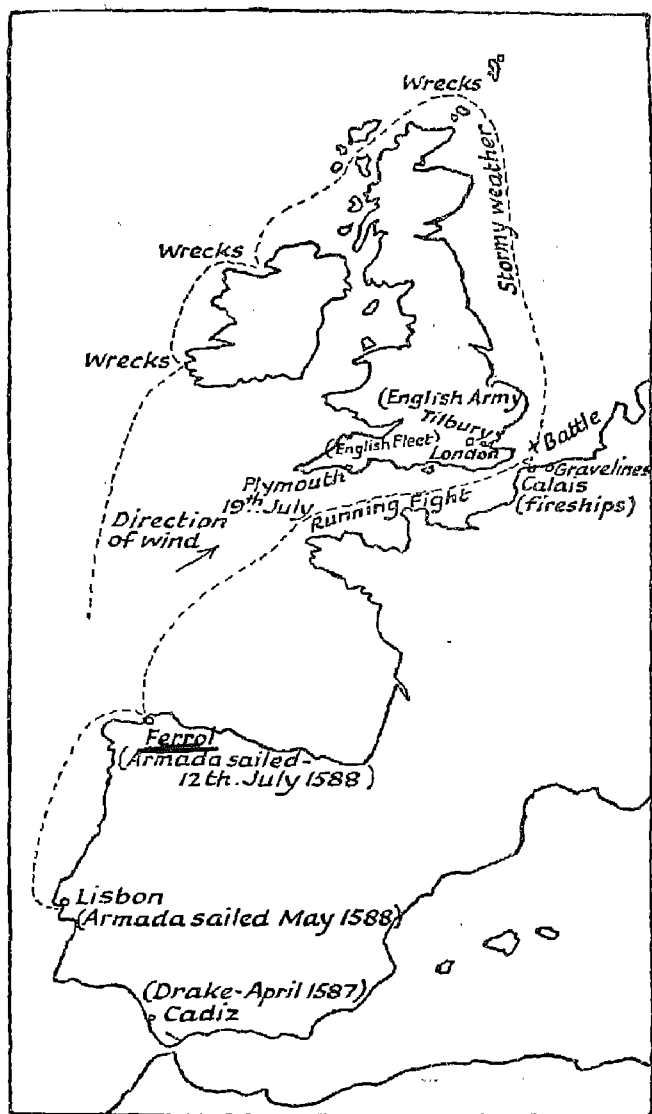
CHAPTER XIX

THE ELIZABETHAN WAR WITH SPAIN

With the death of Mary Stuart Philip's hesitation came to an end. He resolved to conquer England, and he put forward his own descent from Edward III as a ground for claiming the English throne. In deposing Elizabeth he would be enforcing the papal sentence pronounced in 1570 and justifying his own claim to be the "Most Catholic King." He would pose as the avenger of Mary Stuart's death. The attacks on Spanish power by English seamen would cease. The revolt of the Netherlands would collapse. The power of Spain would be greater than ever. The Reformation would come to an end.

With all these aims in view Philip ordered the preparation of a fleet, commonly known in Spain as the Invincible Armada. In the spring and summer of 1587 the dockyards and ports of Spain were busy with the building of ships. Sir Francis Drake, however, visited Cadiz, and wrought such havoc amid the ships built and building that the expedition had to be postponed till the following year, and it actually sailed from Lisbon in May, 1588. It was forced by heavy weather to put into port, and it made a fresh start in July.

The ships of the Armada carried guns, but, strictly speaking, they were not warships. They were transports, designed for carrying troops. The plan of the expedition was that the Armada should bear an army of nineteen thousand men from Spain, and that it should put into port in the Netherlands and receive on board an additional sixteen thousand men from the armies of the Duke of Parma. The whole force of thirty-five thousand men was to be conveyed to England and to be employed on the work of conquest. The Spanish soldiers were well-trained men and bore the reputation of being the best troops in Europe. The whole expedition was under the command of a grandee, the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Against this force the English had a fleet and an army. The main line of defence was at sea. The English fleet outnumbered the Spanish, for the ships of the Royal Navy were supplemented by every merchantman and Rover ship that

THE COURSE OF THE ARMADA

could be turned out. The English ships were built on better lines than the Spanish, and though they were lower in the water they were well manned, for by this time the English were far better sailors than their enemies. Their gunnery, too, was superior to that from the great Spanish galleons. The English fleet, like the Armada, was under the command of a great noble, Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, but he was supported by a group of experienced men which included Drake and Hawkins and every other English seaman of note.

An army was concentrated at Tilbury to fight the Spanish if they should succeed in landing. It consisted of seventy thousand men, hastily drawn from the counties round London, and it increased daily with the arrival of contingents from the remoter parts of the country. These men were by no means the equal of the Spanish in training, but it was certain that they would offer the most desperate resistance if a land battle became necessary.

The danger to England seemed great, and was great. Yet, reviewing the event from this distance of time, it is impossible to state that the Armada had a great chance of victory. At sea, Englishmen were more than a match for their enemies, and if the Spanish army had landed it would have been far too small for the conquest of the country. The ceaseless attacks of the Rovers in the Channel would have prevented regular communication between the invading force and the Netherlands and Spain, and in the absence of reinforcements and supplies of food, equipment, and ammunition the Spanish army would inevitably have been overwhelmed. To state this is not to detract in any way from the courage of those Englishmen who met the peril and defeated it. Yet if the defeat of the Armada seemed marvellous its victory would have been a miracle.

The Armada sailed slowly up the English Channel on its way to the Netherlands. The English fleet did not bar its way, but large numbers of small craft issued from the ports of the south coast and attacked the enemy in the rear. Some damage was done and the Spanish fired away much ammunition with little result. Somewhat demoralised, they were glad to take refuge in Calais roads.

But they did not remain there. Fire-ships were sent in by night on the flowing tide, and the Spanish ships hastily slipped their cables to avoid contact. In disorder they blundered out

of harbour and took to the open sea. The decisive battle took place off Gravelines and the Spanish were utterly defeated, many ships being taken and many others being grievously battered. The only course left to the Spanish admiral was retreat, and with a south-west wind blowing he was compelled to move northwards. Round the north and west of the British Isles the beaten fleet made its way, losing ships as it proceeded. Only two-fifths of the ships of the Armada reached Spain.

The result was complete and decisive. England need no longer fear foreign conquest. Nor was there any further possibility of Roman Catholic supremacy being restored. The Dutch, too, might look forward with renewed hope to the winning of their independence. Above all, it was a personal triumph for Elizabeth. She had foreseen the struggle, she had estimated that victory was to be won only by putting it off until England was strong enough to meet Spain on equal terms, and she had secured this postponement. The event proved that her calculation was correct. Henceforth not only was she the idol of the nation but she enjoyed a great reputation abroad.

War between England and Spain continued until the end of Elizabeth's reign. In 1589 an attempt was made to attack Spain by way of revenge for the Armada. Drake sailed to Spain and burned some ships at Corunna, but an attack on Lisbon was mismanaged and severe losses were experienced. Two years later occurred, off the Azores, the famous fight between the *Revenge*, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, and a Spanish fleet of fifty-three ships, and though the *Revenge* was taken she sank soon after, while the Spanish fleet suffered severe losses. In 1595 an expedition under Drake and Hawkins sailed for the Spanish Main, but it met with little success, and both these famous men died during the voyage.

Philip began to fit out a new Armada in 1596, and a fleet was sent to Cadiz to repeat Drake's exploit of 1587. Lord Howard and the Earl of Essex destroyed the preparations and captured the town. One further unsuccessful attempt was made by Spain, and in 1598 Philip died. In that year the war which had been waged between France and Spain since 1589 came to an end, but no peace was made between England and Spain until after Elizabeth's death.

CHAPTER XX

IRELAND DURING THE TUDOR PERIOD

THE English connection with Ireland had existed for fully three hundred years before the beginning of the Tudor period. In the reign of the first Plantagenet King, Henry II, some Norman adventurers had established themselves in the country, winning territories, building castles, and ruling their lands in feudal fashion. Henry II visited the country and was recognised by Norman lord and Irish chief alike as "Lord of Ireland," but he and his successors showed very little interest in the island, and even by the accession of Henry VII the power of the English king in Ireland was little more than nominal. Most of the people lived in tribal fashion and were loyal only to the heads of their septs or clans. The whole country was parcelled out among these groups. Many of the ruling families were of pure Irish descent, and while others were Norman in their remote origin they were by this time Irish in all other respects. They were known as belonging to either the Englishry or the Irishry. The families of the Englishry nominally acknowledged English authority, though it meant little to them; those of the Irishry did not even admit it. The only part of the country in which royal authority existed in more than name was the "Pale," a narrow strip of east-coast territory stretching from Dundalk to Dublin and a little farther south. Within the Pale the Lord Deputy ruled in the king's name. There was even a Parliament of sorts, representing the Pale and a few towns outside it. The whole country was backward and poor, and no progress was possible while intertribal warfare continued. The Pale was no better off than the rest of the country, since it was subject to raids from the uncivilised tribes of the Irishry which lived close to its borders; its inhabitants even paid these tribes a "Black Rent" as the price of exemption from being plundered. The situation may be summed up in the phrases in use at the time. The Pale contained the "King's Irish Friends," the Englishry

consisted of "The King's Irish Rebels," the Irishry of "The King's Irish Enemies."

The most powerful Irish family at the accession of Henry VII was the Fitzgeralds, descended from one of the Norman adventurers mentioned above. There were two branches of this family at this time. At the head of one was the Earl of Kildare, with extensive possessions in Leinster, while the chief of the other was the Earl of Desmond, whose lands were in Munster. Between the two Geraldine earldoms lay the domains of the Butlers, headed by the Earl of Ormond. Gerald Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, was a powerful chieftain who accepted the office of Lord Deputy from Henry VII. He was no more loyal after this than before, though his quarrels with his neighbours could now be carried on in the King's name. He was involved in the imposture of Lambert Simnel and, to a lesser degree, in that of Perkin Warbeck. It was out of the question for Henry VII to punish him, though he deprived him of the deputyship for a time. Sir Edward Poynings went over to rule in his place and held a Parliament at Drogheda in 1494, by which the famous Statute of Drogheda, or Poynings' Law, was passed. It was enacted that:

(1) No Parliament should meet in Ireland without the king's consent.

(2) No law should be passed by the Irish Parliament without the king's previous consent.

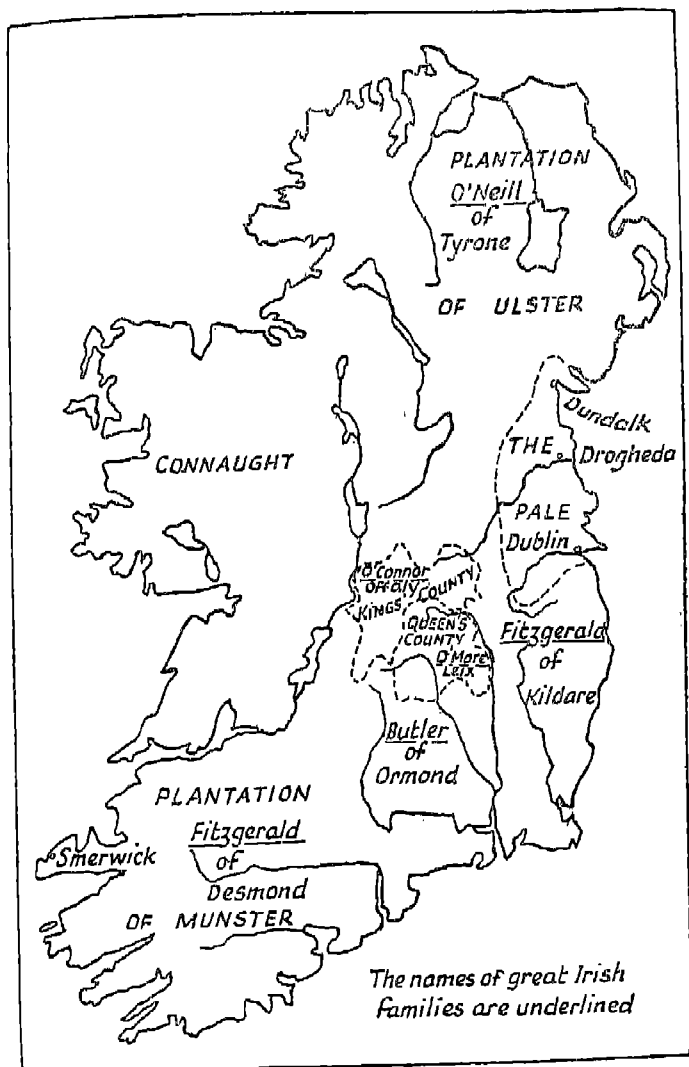
(3) Existing English law should hold good in Ireland.

In time to come, when the royal authority had been more fully established over the country, this law was to be an effective means of enforcing it.

Kildare was restored to the deputyship in 1496, and held it till his death in 1513. Henry VIII appointed the ninth Earl to succeed his father, than whom he proved to be no more loyal. Twice he was suspended from the deputyship, and twice restored. At length Henry's patience was exhausted. Kildare was summoned to London and lodged in the Tower, where he died in 1534. The Fitzgeralds thereupon revolted, but Sir William Skeffington crushed the outbreak and arrested the tenth Earl and his five uncles, the brothers of the ninth Earl. They were not equally implicated in the rebellion, but the King's aim was, apparently, to exterminate this turbulent

family, for all of them were hanged at Tyburn. The eleventh Earl, a boy, made good his escape to France. The suppression of the Geraldines proved that English royal authority was becoming something more than a shadow.

Henry VIII's quarrel with the Pope led to the separation of the Church of England from that of Rome, and this event had its counterpart in Ireland. The payment of annates and Peter's Pence to the Pope was forbidden, no appeals might be sent to the Roman court, and in due course the King of England was declared to be Head of the Irish Church. Finally, the Irish monasteries were dissolved. But these changes were by no means so successful in Ireland as in England. In England Henry's work represented the establishment of royal authority in place of foreign power, and was for that reason acceptable to the nation. But in Ireland these changes involved the substitution of one foreign power, and that a hated power, for another. They were not acceptable to the Irish people, nearly all of whom remained Papists at heart, and, as far as they dared to show, openly. Nor could the dissolution of the monasteries be defended as in England. Ireland was a very backward country, and the religious houses were centres of civilisation, of religion, and of charity. Nothing replaced them, and their suppression was a real loss to the country. Many years elapsed before the dissolution was complete, and some of the remoter houses lingered on till the reign of Elizabeth. The lands of Irish monasteries were distributed among Irish chieftains, many of whom were given English titles of nobility. This policy helped to reconcile them to English rule. In 1542 Henry emphasised the fact that his authority was more real than that of previous kings by assuming the title of "King of Ireland."

Yet much remained to be done before the land was subjugated, and the history of Ireland in the latter half of the sixteenth century is a dreary, yet terrible, record of revolt and massacre, suppression, and extermination. English policy aimed at ultimately replacing the native Irish with English colonists. In the reign of Philip and Mary an outbreak of the O'Connors and the O'Mores, in the lands of Offaly and Leix, was followed by the "plantation" of these territories carried out by the Earl of Sussex. King's County and Queen's County were marked out, and Philipstown and Maryborough were established as their chief towns. In 1579 the Earl of

IRELAND IN TUDOR TIMES

Desmond revolted, and for some years the south of Ireland was in the utmost disorder. But the Munster Geraldines were suppressed as ruthlessly as their kinsmen of Kildare had been half a century earlier, and by 1584 the revolt was over. Desmond lands were forfeited, and were granted in large estates to Englishmen. But the dispossession of the Irish was not complete, and most of them remained as tenants of the new English owners.

Ulster remained the least orderly part of Ireland. The great Irish family of O'Neill held extensive lands there. In 1567–8 occurred a disturbance led by Shane O'Neill which was less a rebellion against the English than a quarrel within the tribe. Order was restored by Sir Henry Sidney. Thirty years later a much more serious outbreak was led by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who may have hoped to drive the English out of the country. He did not limit his activity to the north, but sent a force into Munster, which drove away the English settlers and burned their homes. The Queen sent her favourite, the Earl of Essex, to Ireland to put down the revolt, but O'Neill avoided a pitched battle with him. Had Essex marched into Ulster he might have compelled the rebel chief to fight in defence of his possessions. Essex's ill-success was followed by his return to England, where a quarrel with the Queen turned his thoughts to treason, and he suffered death in the Tower. His successor in Ireland, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was a grim, determined soldier who stamped out the revolt, and before Elizabeth's death Ireland was outwardly peaceful.

Early in James I's reign Hugh revolted once more. As will be narrated in a later chapter, the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, crushed him completely. His earldom and his lands were forfeited and the plantation of Ulster was undertaken—the most complete and most successful of all the Irish plantations. English and Scottish settlers were placed on the land from which the native Irish were expelled, and Ulster, from being the wildest, became the most peaceful and prosperous part of the country, the least Irish in character, and Protestant while other parts remained Catholic.

It is easy to overestimate the results of Tudor rule in Ireland. The country was by no means so settled, so orderly, so obedient, and so prosperous as the sister island. Yet it is likewise easy to understate what had been done. More interest

had been shown by the Tudors in Irish affairs than by any of their predecessors. The King of England was now King of Ireland. The Irish Church was, like the English, under royal control, though not, as in England, with the cordial assent of the people of the country. But, above all, the great Irish families had been subjugated. Appeased by the grant of titles and bribed with gifts of monastic lands, they rendered more or less willing obedience to the Crown. And those who were unwilling to do this, the Fitzgeralds of Kildare and Desmond and the O'Neills of Ulster, found that the arm of the King of England was long enough and strong enough to dispossess and destroy them.

CHAPTER XXI

PARLIAMENT IN TUDOR TIMES

As far back as Anglo-Saxon and Norman times the king had been assisted in the work of government by a council of the great men of the kingdom, and the weaker kings found that this council was able to limit their power. Parliament, as we know it, came into existence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in the time of the first three Edwards, and in the later Middle Ages it exercised a good deal of authority. The king was unable to impose taxes without its permission, and as kings were often in want of money, for wars or other purposes, Parliament was often able to secure from them the grant of privileges which they might otherwise have been unwilling to concede.

Parliament consisted of King, House of Lords, and House of Commons. The House of Lords included all the nobles of the realm, whether dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, or barons, together with the archbishops and bishops of the Church, and the abbots or priors of the more important monasteries. The House of Commons represented the people. Every county sent two knights to it, every city two citizens, and every borough of any importance two burgesses. It is not to be assumed that in the election of these members everybody had a vote. Such was certainly not the case. In the counties only landowners voted, and in the towns only the most important townsmen had a voice in the election. This state of affairs did not cause any dissatisfaction. Centuries were to pass before anybody thought of bringing forward the democratic demand for a vote for every man. Such taxation as was imposed on the country fell upon the landowners and the merchants, and it was reasonable that the people who paid, and they alone, should vote.

Parliament did not, in any sense, rule the country. Government was the right and duty of the king. Nor had Parliament the right to interfere with or control the king in the exercise of this duty. Its functions were twofold. Only Parliament could make a new law or a change in an existing law. And the

consent of Parliament was necessary to the levying of a tax. Changes in law, however, were rarely called for. The taxation system was not extensive, and was usually settled at the beginning of each reign. There was, therefore, little need for the regular meeting of Parliament, and, in fact, it met only occasionally, when the king should think fit to summon it. Its meetings were so rare that its members had little experience of regular procedure, and were usually ready to assent without comment to laws proposed by the king and to grant the taxes for which he asked. There was, indeed, a further right which Parliament had secured in Plantagenet times. It might bring to justice any of the king's ministers who had exceeded the law in the course of his rule. It might impeach the unjust minister. An impeachment was a State trial, in which the House of Lords judged the man accused by the House of Commons. No impeachments were undertaken during the Tudor period, but the right was not lost, and in Stuart times it was revived and frequently used.

As Parliament was not often required to exercise its power of making new laws or levying new taxes it did not meet regularly. It assembled only when summoned by the king, and there were from time to time long periods during which no Parliament met. It was rarely called in the reign of Henry VII, but Henry VIII used it more frequently. In the first six years of his reign a Parliament met every year, and grants of money were made for Henry's continental wars. With the rise of Wolsey Parliament ceased to meet, and during the fifteen years of the Cardinal's rule it was called only once. This was in 1523, when Wolsey demanded a grant of £800,000 for the King's use. A much smaller sum was actually voted. In 1529, the year of Wolsey's fall from power, the Reformation Parliament was summoned, and it continued to exist, meeting from time to time, till 1536. All the important steps in the separation of the Church of England from that of Rome were carried through by acts of this Parliament. It is clear that it was merely the mouthpiece of the King's will, and that it was prepared to pass anything and everything that he suggested. Other Parliaments met from time to time, but no opposition to the King's policy was raised. Parliament, indeed, on two occasions, in 1529 and 1544, cancelled the King's debts, and on the second occasion ordered that any of Henry's creditors who had been paid since 1542 should return the money they

had received. Towards the end of Henry's reign Parliament enacted that the King's proclamations should have the force of law. There were certain limits to this power, but in effect the King was given authority to make new laws merely by proclaiming them. This power ended, however, with Henry's death, and was never renewed in favour of any subsequent king.

With the dissolution of the monasteries the number of churchmen in the House of Lords was diminished, since the abbots and priors no longer sat there. Henceforth the lay-peers were in a substantial majority. In Mary's reign Westminster Abbey was restored and its abbot resumed his seat in the Lords, but with the final dissolution of this house by Elizabeth the last mitred abbot disappeared from Parliament.

Elizabeth summoned Parliament from time to time, and on the whole the Houses did not oppose the Queen. She avoided making requests for money as far as she could. But Parliament was not quite so submissive as it had been under her father. It passed without difficulty the acts necessary for her religious settlement, and when the Pope excommunicated and deposed her in 1570 it needed no prompting to enact, in 1571, the penalties of high treason against any man who should call her a heretic, a usurper, or an infidel. But it ventured at times to question the Queen's foreign and ecclesiastical policy, and even raised the question of her marriage and the succession to the throne. Elizabeth sharply ordered Parliament not to discuss such matters, and they were dropped. But later in the reign a real contest between Crown and Parliament on the matter of monopolies was only narrowly averted. It was the royal practice to grant to favourites a monopoly of the sale or manufacture of some article, and such a grant was naturally valuable to its possessor. Protests were addressed by Parliament to the Queen in 1597 and 1601, and in the latter year an angry debate occurred on the subject. Elizabeth wisely gave way and promised to cancel the more burdensome of the monopolies. Parliament gratefully acknowledged the Queen's action by granting her a substantial sum of money.

Surprise is sometimes expressed that there should have been so little friction between Parliament and the Tudors when such bitter antagonism developed against the Crown in the Stuart period. One reason for this state of affairs lies in the infrequency of the meeting of Parliament, to which reference has already been made. Even in Elizabeth's reign the Houses

met rarely. Elizabeth called thirteen Parliaments, but as a rule the meetings lasted only for a few weeks. The sum total of the periods during which Parliament was in session did not exceed three years, and as Elizabeth reigned for forty-five years it is evident that for most of the time she was without a Parliament. Some care, too, was exercised in securing the attendance of men who would support the Crown. In the House of Lords the few descendants of the older nobility might be critical of the royal policy, but they were outvoted by the newer nobles, whose titles had been conferred within the Tudor period, and by the bishops, who were appointed by Elizabeth and were attached to her. The submissiveness of the House of Commons was secured by the inclusion of members from a number of towns which had not hitherto been represented but which were now invited to send burgesses not on account of their importance but of their loyalty.

A further reason for the absence of conflict is to be found in the national consciousness of danger from Spain. From the time of the Reformation it was clear to thoughtful men that conflict between the champions of the new way of thinking and those of the old was inevitable, and as Anglo-Spanish enmity developed in Elizabeth's reign it was felt that a divided nation would certainly fall before its formidable antagonist. The nation, in fact, could not afford to quarrel with its rulers while the danger of foreign conquest remained. The peril was less after 1588, and Parliament, indeed, became bolder in the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign. But the Queen's position was now secure. She was the idol of the people, and any serious attempt to limit her authority or to criticise her policy after she had led the nation to victory was out of the question.

But the greatest reason for the absence of friction between Crown and Parliament in the Tudor period was that neither wished for it. In the Stuart period it was felt that the aims of king and people were not identical, and ultimately it became clear that they were sharply opposed. The Tudors and their people were not opposed. The sovereigns led the people and the people trusted their rulers. Henry VIII in his struggle against Rome had the nation at his back; Elizabeth in her struggle against Spain was leading her people. Crown and Parliament in the Tudor period did not quarrel because there was mutual trust; there was nothing to quarrel about.

THE STUART PERIOD

CHAPTER XXII

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

BY what right does a king rule a country? There are two possible answers to this question. A king may be regarded as an official appointed by his people to rule them, and according to this view he differs from other officials only in rank, and, like them, may be removed from his post if his work is not satisfactory. The other answer to the question is that the king is appointed by God, and rules by Divine Right. The Stuart kings believed in this view. James I stated it again and again, and all the kings of his line believed in it and expected their subjects to do so.

The theory of the Divine Right of Kings asserts that in each country God has appointed a particular form of government, monarchy, and that it is His will that a certain person shall be king. If this be so, the king is responsible to God alone for the way in which he rules, and he is not responsible to his people. They are expected to obey the king in all circumstances. They must never disobey, never rebel, for such action is not only a crime against the king but a sin against God. No matter how harsh the king's rule may be, no matter how neglectful, how tyrannical, how foolish he may be, his subjects must bear with him. They have no right to depose him, nor to bring him to account in any way whatever.

It is not to be assumed, however, that a king who rules badly will go unpunished. He will be called to account by God after this life. All men must give account to God; but, while most men must answer for their private lives only, the king must account for both his private life and his public rule, and will be judged by God according to the way he has ruled as well as the way he has lived. But the people may not take the place of God in judging the king.

If the king rules harshly the people are to regard his tyranny as a visitation upon them, sent by God on account of their sins. The remedy is not rebellion, but repentance for sin, prayer to God, and fasting.

Sooner or later, however, the king must die and another must take his place. Occasionally there have been disputes about the succession to a dead king. Such disputes have even developed into civil war. How are people to know which of the claimants is divinely favoured? It is certainly important that they should know, for it is their duty to support him and to oppose his rival. If, even only by chance or by ignorance, people fight for the wrong claimant, they are committing the great sin of opposing the Lord's Anointed. God must have given the people a rule by which they may ascertain who is the proper successor to a lawful king. That rule is hereditary succession—the father to be succeeded by his eldest son, or, in the absence of children, by his nearest relative. Whenever, therefore, any doubt arises as to succession, it is to be settled by referring to a genealogical table.

But the rightful claimant does not always win. His opponent may seize the throne, may rule for a number of years, may be succeeded by generations of his descendants. Such rulers have no Divine Right, however. A usurping line of kings can have no Divine Right, even though it rule for a thousand years. Divine Right remains with the rightful line, no matter how long since it held the throne, or how poor and obscure it may have become.

Divine Right, however, is something more than a privilege conferred upon a king. He is responsible to God for the way he exercises his power, and it is his duty to exercise it. Though he has a Divine Right to rule, he has no Divine Right to give away his power of ruling. He receives from his father a certain amount of power, and it is his duty to hand that power, undiminished, to his son. A king who believes in Divine Right may not make concessions to his subjects. If in answer to their petition he renounces any of his power he is failing in the trust reposed in him by God. If God had intended a particular power to be exercised by someone other than the king he would have arranged accordingly, and the king has no right to give away powers bestowed upon him by God.

Such, then, is the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. Stuart kings are often criticised for being obstinate. Their reluctance to give way to parliamentary claims is regarded as unreasonable. But a high-minded and religious king could not give way. The more fully he believed in his position, and the more truly devout he was, the more certainly would he do

his duty by holding on to his powers. Thus it appeared that the most religious man made the most obstinate of kings—the best man made the worst king.

Such a theory was, no doubt, very satisfactory from the royal point of view. It safeguarded the king from rebellion, it preserved him from losing his throne, it left him an absolute monarch. But it was necessary to get the nation, or at least a large part of it, to believe in it.

The Church of England, of which the Crown was now the head, taught Divine Right as part of its doctrine. We need not think that the clergy were insincere in this. When James I became King, the fact that he strongly supported the Church against both Puritans and Papists might well lead them to regard him as a King sent from God, and they were ready to take the view that he was King by Divine Right. This was preached in church pulpits throughout the country. At a time when neither newspapers nor public meetings existed to inform and enlighten the people, the preaching of the clergy was the only way of influencing them. Many people accepted the doctrine of Divine Right, and in the dark days to come ranged themselves on the King's side because they thought it was their duty to do so. It may be noticed that one of the prayers for the King in the Book of Common Prayer (which was revised in 1604 and in 1662) points clearly to the view then held. The prayer asks, ". . . that he (*knowing whose minister he is*) may, above all things, seek thy honour and glory: and that we, and all his subjects (*duly considering whose authority he hath*) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him, ..." The phrases enclosed within brackets indicate belief in the divinely-appointed character of the King's position.

Divine Right was not invented by James I, nor was he the first to claim it. Some hundreds of years earlier, the Holy Roman Emperors had claimed to be "Lords of the World." But the Popes also claimed to be "Lords of the World," and in support of this contention they asserted that they were God's representatives upon earth, since they were the successors of St. Peter, who, they said, was appointed by Christ himself to the headship of the Church. The only possible answer which could be made by the Emperors was that they, too, were divinely appointed, and those who supported them against the Popes quoted various texts of scripture to uphold the claim. In course of time the Divine Right claimed by the Holy Roman

Emperors was claimed also by kings. In some continental countries it was regarded as the true basis of kingship until quite recent times. In England only the Stuart kings talked about it. The Tudors may have believed in it, but they did not make any formal claim to it. They acted as though they possessed it. Perhaps it would have been better for the Stuarts if they had done likewise, for when a claim is acted upon without being talked about too much people may take it for granted. But the formal statement of the claim may lead some people to question it, and the Stuart kings found this to be so to their cost.

CHAPTER XXIII

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I

WHEN James I became King of England he found that three religious parties existed among the people of this country. Queen Elizabeth had tried to settle the religious question of her day by making the Church of England wide enough to include men of various religious opinions. Its doctrines were stated in such a way that Catholics and Protestants alike might think that it supported their views. Elizabeth hoped that all her people would conform to the Church, and many, perhaps most, of them did so, but groups of extreme Protestants and extreme Catholics remained outside. Those who refused to attend church were fined for their recusancy. In order to avoid payment of the fine, some Papists and many Puritans attended church. Others preferred paying the fine.

The religious parties at the accession of James were:

(*a*) The Church, which included the great mass of the people, who thought it represented a reasonable settlement of the religious questions of the time.

(*b*) The Puritans, who wished to see the Church become much more Protestant than it already was. Many of them remained in the Church, but others were outside it, forming separate congregations. The latter were liable to be punished, but not the former.

(*c*) The Roman Catholics, most of whom persisted in non-attendance at church, and were fined accordingly.

It is curious that both the extreme groups hoped for better treatment from James than they had received from Elizabeth. The new King had been brought up as a Presbyterian in Scotland, and the Puritans might well feel that they would be better off when Elizabeth died and the land passed under the rule of a Puritan King. But the Papists expected James to remember that they had suffered under Elizabeth mainly because they had plotted on behalf of his mother, Mary Stuart. Respect for his mother's memory would, they felt, induce the King

to treat her friends and supporters with indulgence. The hopes of both these parties were doomed to disappointment.

James had, it is true, been brought up as a Presbyterian, but he had no liking for the system which existed in Scotland. In the Presbyterian Church of that country the clergy exercised much authority, and the King was of no more importance than the humblest of his subjects. The Scottish ministers rebuked him publicly for his faults, one of them even describing him to his face as "God's silly vassal." While he was King of Scotland only, he had to put up with such things, but when he became King of England he found that he was at the head of the Church of England, whose bishops and clergy treated him with deep respect. It is not remarkable that he preferred the English to the Scottish system, and determined not to help the Puritans establish Presbyterianism in England. Nor was he more inclined to look kindly upon the Roman Catholics. Any increase in the numbers or influence of the Pope's followers would tend to reduce his power as Head of the Church, which he was determined to maintain.

English Puritans regarded the Reformation in England as only half completed. The Church was no longer under the Pope, but there had been little change in its doctrines since the Middle Ages, it still retained some medieval ceremonial, and it was still episcopal, that is, its clergy were of three ranks, bishops, priests, and deacons. Puritans wanted change in all these respects. They wanted the doctrines of the Church to be those of the Genevan reformer, Calvin. They wanted many points of ceremonial to be abolished. Bowing at the name of Jesus, making the sign of the cross, kneeling to receive communion, using a ring in the marriage service, and many other things, were distasteful to them. They wished to see the abolition of all robes for the clergy. And many of them wanted the difference of rank among the clergy to be ended. All the clergy would be of one grade if the office of bishop were abolished. (The rank of deacon could easily be dropped.) By the abolition of bishops the Church would become Presbyterian, as was that of Scotland, where there were no bishops and the clergy were of one grade only.

At this time another party was rising in the Church, known as the Arminians. It included men who were Catholic in belief, but who had no wish to see papal power restored. They were definitely opposed to the Puritans, and were averse from

any further changes in the direction of Protestantism. They wanted medieval ceremonies to be retained, and, if they had been dropped, to be restored. They wished the vestments used in the Middle Ages to remain in use. And they held that the Church would cease to be a church at all if bishops were abolished.

While James was on his way from Edinburgh to London he was met by a group of clergy who presented to him a petition, said to have been signed by a thousand Puritan ministers of the Church, which asked him to sanction a number of changes. He declined to answer this "Millenary Petition" forthwith, but he promised to call a conference to consider the Puritan requests. This conference met at Hampton Court Palace in 1604. It included a number of bishops and other highly-placed clergy, and with them four of the Puritans. The King was present at the debates and soon showed that his sympathies were not with the Puritans. Nearly everything they asked was refused, and the Church continued in the way marked out by Elizabeth. The Conference did one other very important thing. It arranged for a new translation of the Bible to be made. The work was entrusted to a number of learned men in the Church, and seven years passed before it was completed. But it was done so well that the Bible, as then translated, has been in use in this country ever since.

The Puritans were disappointed. Some of them felt that England was no longer a place for them, and they decided to leave it. A few went to Holland, and lived among the Dutch, who also were Puritan, for some years. But in 1620 they, with some other English Puritans who embarked at Southampton, sailed in a ship called the *Mayflower* across the Atlantic, and formed a settlement at Plymouth, on the North American coast. Here they were free to worship God in their own way. It should not be thought, however, that these "Pilgrim Fathers" in their new home permitted other people to worship in any but the Puritan way. As other settlers arrived, in course of time, they were expected to be Puritans, and those who would not were persecuted. The Puritans, in short, were no more tolerant than the Church they had left. It should be recognised that, three centuries ago, toleration was hardly thought of. Nearly all religious bodies persecuted, if they could, people who disagreed with them, and the Church of England was quite exceptional in the wideness of the

toleration it permitted within its ranks, and in the moderation of its persecution of those outside.

Many of the Roman Catholics in England, as stated above, had hoped for freedom from persecution and for permission to worship in peace when James I became King. They thought that by showing their loyalty to James they might induce him to relax the laws against them. But the Jesuit priests and their followers had no such hopes. They thought that the only way to obtain their ends was to have a Roman Catholic sovereign, and this could only be by foreign help. Treason against the King and Spanish invasion of the country were to be their roads to religious freedom.

For a short time it seemed that the Jesuits were wrong, and that James might allow the laws against Papists to fall into disuse. But when it was realised that the laws were not being enforced many people who had not hitherto been looked upon as Papists declared themselves to be such, so that the number of known recusants increased considerably. The King took alarm and ordered the enforcement of the laws. The persecution of Roman Catholic priests and the fining of recusants began again. This gave to the followers of the Jesuit party their chance.

The leader of the plot which followed was Robert Catesby, and with him were Thomas Percy, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and Guy Fawkes. Their plan was to store gunpowder in a cellar under the House of Lords and, when King, Lords, and Commons were assembled together in that chamber for the opening of Parliament, to blow them up. This done, a Catholic rising was inevitable. People would turn in horror against all Catholics, and all, whether they approved the deed or not, would have to join together in self-defence. In the turmoil the conspirators hoped to seize Princess Elizabeth, James's daughter. She was a child, who might be made Queen and be brought up as a Catholic. To carry out this scheme, the plotters had to admit others to their councils. Through one of these, Francis Tresham, the plot was revealed in time. Fawkes was arrested. Catesby and the others fled from London to Holbeach House in Staffordshire. They were pursued, their refuge was besieged, and they fell. Fawkes was put to death, as was a Jesuit priest named Henry Garnett. He was not a plotter, but he had heard, in confession, of the plot. A Catholic priest does not reveal what he is told in

the confessional, but, for not revealing this, Garnett died. He was long regarded by his fellow-Papists as a martyr for his faith.

The plot failed, but its effects were lasting. Most English people were overwhelmed with horror, and turned with hatred and disgust from men who could plan murder on so large a scale. Hitherto, while it had been against the law to be Roman Catholic, people had not thought much the worse of their Roman Catholic neighbours. But now the latter formed almost a race apart. They were suspected of any and every sort of crime. Nothing was too bad to be believed of them. Before the Gunpowder Plot they were offenders, indeed, but were often respected; afterwards, they were the outcasts of English social and political life.

John Whitgift, who was Archbishop of Canterbury for the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign, and who was a thorn in the side of the Puritans, died in 1604. He was succeeded by Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, who had been foremost in defence of the Church at the Hampton Court Conference. Bancroft continued his predecessor's energetic measures against the Puritans, many of whom he expelled from their livings, but after his death in 1610 the next Archbishop, George Abbot, was inclined to Puritan views. Abbot's influence, however, was never great, and as the years went on the court relied more and more, in ecclesiastical matters, upon the advice of the Arminian bishops, William Laud, of St. David's, and Lancelot Andrewes, of Winchester.

CHAPTER XXIV

CROWN AND PARLIAMENT IN THE STUART PERIOD

THE history of England in Stuart times is the story of a struggle between the Kings and the Parliaments of the period. In the middle of the century this struggle developed into open warfare, and a king was beheaded, but the contest had begun many years before the actual outbreak of war, and it was not ended when Charles I was executed. There were many points upon which King and Parliament quarrelled, but the real cause of the struggle is not to be found merely by considering these points. It was a struggle for supremacy.

It cannot be doubted that before the Stuarts came to the throne it was the king or queen who was supreme in the state. Before James I became King it was Elizabeth, and not a Parliament, who ruled the country, who settled its religion, who imprisoned her rival and cousin Mary Stuart, who kept Spain at bay. Earlier in the Tudor period it was Henry VIII who broke with the Pope, and who dissolved the monasteries, although these events seemed to be the work of Parliament. It was King Henry VII who destroyed the power of the barons. And the farther we go back in English history the more certainly we find that the king, and not the Parliament, ruled the country. It is not surprising, then, that James I, when he became King, expected to rule the country. It was, he thought, his duty and his right to do so, as his predecessors had done.

Parliament, three centuries ago, had no share in the ruling of the country. And, indeed, at that time Parliament could have no share in the work of government, for the very simple reason that it was only rarely in existence. At the present time people are accustomed to the continuous existence of Parliament. It meets for several months in every year, and although there are holiday seasons for members of Parliament as for other people, yet the Houses can always be called together at very short notice if any good reason should arise for summoning them. And when Parliament is dissolved a new House of

Commons is elected within a week or two, and a new Parliament meets. It must not, however, be thought that this practice prevailed at the time which is being considered.

Parliament met only occasionally, when specially summoned by the sovereign, and its meeting was usually short. There were long periods during which it was not in existence. Queen Elizabeth during her reign of forty-five years called thirteen Parliaments, but very few of them lasted for more than a few weeks, and the whole duration of her thirteen Parliaments amounted to no more than about three years. During periods which totalled no less than forty-two years there was no Parliament in existence. James I called four Parliaments during his reign, but their total duration was no more than three years, so that many years must have passed without a parliamentary meeting. There was, indeed, no legal need for a king to summon a Parliament at all, and if he neglected to do so for the whole of his reign he was breaking no law.

Yet there were certain things which the King could not do by himself—things which only Parliament could do. The King alone could not make a new law nor alter an existing law. He could not levy a tax nor increase an existing tax. Parliament alone could make new laws and levy new taxes.

To those who take an interest in present-day affairs this may seem to afford quite sufficient reason for Parliament meeting with regularity then, as it does now. Much parliamentary time at the present day is taken up with the consideration of taxation and of various matters connected with the raising and spending of the national revenue. And Parliament always seems to be busy with the passing of new laws. As a rule, over one hundred new Acts of Parliament are passed every year, though they are not all of equal importance.

But three centuries ago the passing of a new law was a much rarer event. The general mass of law was regarded as fixed—not unchangeable, indeed, but only to be altered for very good cause. Changes in the law were not readily made, and were in fact rare. And new taxes were rarer than new laws. Accustomed as the modern man is to taxation of all kinds, it is hard for him to understand that the England of early Stuart times was almost an untaxed country.

The Government of the country did not attempt to do so much as it does to-day. There were no social services to be paid for—no public education, no public health service, no

old-age pensions. There were no great government departments, each spending large sums of the nation's money. There was no efficient police force. There was no standing army and only a very small navy. There were not, in fact, so many objects on which the Government could spend money as there are to-day. The chief thing which was expected of the Government was that it should provide for the defence of the country, and it need not do that by maintaining in peace-time a large and expensive army and navy. If war broke out, men were called from their ordinary work to fight, and merchant ships were drafted into the navy. But in time of peace army and navy were almost non-existent.

Now the Government of the country was, as has been stated, in the hands of the King. And it was a constitutional principle that "the King should live of his own." This meant that he should support himself, maintain his palaces, his staff of servants, and his personal guards, and in addition pay for the Government of the country, out of his royal income. He was not entitled, in the ordinary course of things, to expect other people to contribute to his treasure-chest. Englishmen have shown, again and again, that they will stand almost any form of oppression without revolt more readily than they will permit a king to tax them. The most serious revolt that Henry VII had to face was due to his attempt to levy a tax. And one of the causes of the revolt of 1381 was the levying of a tax.

The King's income was obtained from several sources, of which three were much more important than the others. The first was the income obtained from the Crown lands. Ever since the Norman Conquest the Kings of England had been very large landowners. William I gave much land to his followers, but he kept much for himself. Other kings added to the Crown lands. A few kings diminished their extent by giving away estates to their favourites, but the total acreage of these lands in the time of James I was very great. Crown lands were to be found in all parts of the country. In some cases royal lands were farmed by the King himself, who entrusted the management of such estates to bailiffs. The produce was sold in neighbouring markets, and the profits went to the King. But most of the Crown lands were leased to tenants who paid a rent to the King. He thus gained a very large income from his lands, either by the rents of the leased lands or by the sale of the produce of the farmed lands.

The King was the feudal overlord of all other land in the country, and landowners were liable to make payments of money to the King in certain circumstances. Further, if a landowner died before his son or daughter had grown up the King became the guardian of the child, and managed the estate until its owner came of age. For doing this he was entitled to keep the income of the estate, after allowing for the needs of the child-owner. And as the child grew up the King's consent was necessary for his or her marriage, and might be given only if the suitor was prepared to pay the King handsomely for it. There were thousands of landowners in the kingdom, and at any given time some of the landed estates would certainly belong to children. The King might depend, therefore, upon a substantial and regular income from this source.

A third source of royal income was to be found in a system of import duties known as tunnage and poundage—an imposition on every tun of wine and every pound of dry goods brought into the country. This was indirect taxation, and could be levied only by authority of Parliament. But for more than two centuries Parliament had at the beginning of each reign authorised the King or Queen to levy tunnage and poundage during his or her lifetime, and the first Parliament of James I continued the custom.

The King obtained further sums of money from time to time by such means as selling charters and granting monopolies, and fines levied in the courts were given to him.

From these sources the royal income was made up, and it was supposed to be sufficient for the ordinary government of the country. If, however, some unusual circumstance should arise which involved expenditure, such, for example, as a war, the King could hardly be expected to pay for it out of his ordinary income. In that case his proper course of action was to summon a Parliament and ask it for money. Parliament was expected to levy a tax and grant the proceeds to the King.

It will be seen from what has been written that at this period there was no need for a regular meeting of Parliament. A new King would summon a Parliament in the first few months of his reign in order that it might make him the usual grant of tunnage and poundage for life. Afterwards, it would be called only if some special circumstance arose which called for the passing of a law or the provision of money. Should such a

matter arise, the King, through his ministers, would recommend the law or suggest the amount of the grant. Parliament was by no means compelled to act upon these recommendations, but it was very likely to do so. It was not expected to oppose the King, but to support him loyally for the honour of his throne and the good of the kingdom, and if it did not always act as his ministers suggested it was expected to produce some other means of attaining the end for which it had been called.

The discovery of the New World at the end of the fifteenth century was followed by its colonisation by Spaniards, who caused gold and silver mines to be worked in Mexico and Peru. Every year a treasure fleet sailed from the New World to Spain, bearing the year's produce of the mines. This meant that the amount of money in circulation in Spain, and, indeed, in the whole of western Europe, steadily increased year by year. As a result, money was not worth so much as was formerly the case, and the prices of most things rose. This rise in prices was not very rapid, but it was very certain. It was going on throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods, and it was felt as much in England as elsewhere. Everybody felt it, though very few people knew the cause of the rise. The Kings felt it as much as anybody. They found that the expenses of government were constantly increasing, but that their royal revenue did not increase, or that, if it did, it increased much more slowly than their expenditure. They found increasing difficulty in making ends meet, and were constantly in debt.

James I and Charles I were in their own time regarded by some people as extravagant. It was difficult to understand why they could not make their income pay for the work of government if earlier kings had done so. The charge of extravagance is to some extent true of James I, but not of Charles I. His financial difficulties were due to the rise in prices which was still going on.

Only one way out of their difficulties presented itself to the early Stuarts. This was to call a Parliament and ask for money. But such a request was likely to be resented. It was unusual to ask Parliament for money for the ordinary purposes of government, and members of Parliament were certain to talk about royal extravagance. They would think the country was not being ruled well, and they would suggest that they should have a share in ruling it. At the least they might fix the blame on some unpopular minister of the King and try to

get him removed. A party came into existence in Parliament which was opposed to the court, and its immediate aim was to compel the King to choose ministers of whom it approved, and to dismiss those whom it disliked. Before long it desired to control the whole government of the country and to compel the King to rule in accordance with its wishes. But, before there was any hope of these aims being carried into effect, Parliament must secure the right to meet regularly. If, however, the King was compelled to apply to them for money from time to time, they could lay down conditions when they granted it, and sooner or later their aims would be fulfilled.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PARLIAMENTS OF JAMES I

THE first faint traces of the struggle between Crown and Parliament which was referred to in the last chapter are to be found in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But they are no more than faint traces, and are sometimes altogether overlooked. The time was not yet ripe for the contest. The Queen practised rigid economy and rarely had to ask Parliament for money. She had no great need to call the Houses together frequently. And, when Parliament met, it had little desire to oppose the Queen. During the first thirty years of her reign the nation was in great danger from Spain, and the people, through their representatives, were bound to support the Queen in preparing to repel the threatened attack. To quarrel with her at such a time would be fatal to English prospects of success when the Armada came. The cloud lifted in 1588, and Englishmen could breathe freely and sleep soundly at night. And from this time the fear of invasion no longer deterred them from attempting to reduce the power of the Crown. But Elizabeth was now the nation's idol, and very few thought about attacking the power of the monarchy while she lived. She had used her power with success, and for the nation's good, and the people were prepared to trust and support her, rather than oppose her, till her death.

With the accession of James I a more definite feeling of opposition to the Crown is to be noticed. His Parliaments began to aim at sharing in the work of government, and before the end of the reign they attempted, with success, the removal of unpopular ministers. James called his first Parliament in 1604, and it followed what had been the custom for more than two centuries by granting him tunnage and poundage for life. Meeting again in 1606, it passed certain severe laws against Roman Catholics, the natural sequel to the Gunpowder Plot of the previous year. But by 1607 differences appeared.

The King, despite the unfavourable opinions of him held by

many people of his own and later times, was by no means a fool. He was King of Scotland as well as King of England, and he thought it would be to the advantage of both countries if they were united into one kingdom. He realised that a condition of permanent friendship and unity was to be preferred to a state of chronic antagonism. As a step towards this desirable end he had already assumed the title of King of Great Britain. Neither Englishmen nor Scots, however, were eager for the proposed union. But the King persevered, and made certain proposals of union which he placed before Parliament, hoping, no doubt, that it would adopt his suggestions and pass them into law. It rejected them. That the King was wiser than his people in this matter can hardly be doubted. A century later a union between England and Scotland was effected and, though even then many people on both sides of the border were opposed to it, its advantages are now apparent to everybody. James was, in short, ahead of his people.

More serious matters of dispute soon arose. In 1607 the King issued an order increasing the duty to be paid on imported currants, and a merchant named John Bate refused to pay the amount of the increase, on the ground that it had not been sanctioned by Parliament. According to the view that would be held at the present day Bate was right, for an import duty is now regarded as a tax, and only Parliament has the right to impose or alter a tax. Then, however, the matter was not so clear. Parliamentary control existed, indeed, over direct taxation, but it was not certain that it existed equally over indirect taxation. One of the duties of the King as ruler of the country was to regulate trade. At present we are inclined to measure the prosperity of the country by the amount of its trade. An increase in trade is regarded as an indication of growing prosperity. But in the seventeenth century it was often thought desirable to limit the amount of a particular kind of trade, and this could be done by increasing the import duty on the article in question. And as the King regulated trade, he was entitled to increase or reduce duties according as he desired to reduce or increase the volume of trade in particular articles.

Import duties, however, served another purpose. They provided the King with a certain amount of revenue, which was likely to be increased if the rate of duty was increased. From this point of view the duty was a tax, and it was contended that

the increase required the assent of Parliament. The question to be considered, therefore, when an increase was ordered in an import duty, was whether the purpose of the increase was to regulate trade or to provide the King with more money. If it was the former, the King might act on his own authority; if the latter, parliamentary consent was necessary. Bate's case was brought before the Court of Exchequer and he was ordered to pay. It was a complete victory for the King, who followed it up by issuing a new *Book of Rates*, which made extensive changes in the existing schedule of duties. Parliament, however, did not accept this without protest, and in 1610 complained about the "New Impositions." But the King, after the decision in Bate's case, was legally in the right, and he was not likely to change his policy on account of any protest that Parliament might make.

Before the first Parliament was dissolved a proposal came before it for abolishing the feudal payments to which the King was entitled. The suggestion was that the King should give up these payments, which were irregular and uncertain in amount, and receive in their place a fixed sum of £200,000 per annum. These payments were made by landowners, and as every member of both Houses of Parliament owned land it was to be expected that the proposal would be received favourably by them. Haggling arose, however, over details. The King wanted a little more and Parliament wanted to give a little less. Parliament was dissolved in February, 1611, without any agreement having been reached on the subject of the Great Contract.

This Parliament had lasted for seven years, although, of course, it had not met regularly during that period. The King was in no hurry to call another Parliament, and preferred to meet his financial difficulties by borrowing money and by creating a new title, that of baronet, which he was willing to confer upon anybody who gave or lent him £1000. Such devices as these helped him only for a time. His difficulties increased, and he began to consider the calling of another Parliament.

Some of his courtiers advised him to do this. They contended that it was by no means certain that a new Parliament would be as much opposed to the Crown as its predecessor had been. If the King would address it politely, listen to its complaints, and attend to the more urgent of them, these courtiers would undertake to influence Parliament to make a grant of

money to the King. The Parliament was called, but, unfortunately for the King, news of this "undertaking" leaked out. The Parliament proved to be definitely opposed to the court, and its members were angry at the very idea of being influenced by the "undertakers." Two months after its meeting it was dissolved. It had neither passed an act nor made a grant of money. From the fact that it had produced nothing it was called the "Addled Parliament."

Seven years elapsed before another Parliament met, in 1621. In this, the third Parliament of the reign, the Commons revived the practice of "impeachment," which had been used in the Middle Ages, but not in the Tudor period. An impeachment was a state trial, in which the accused was usually of high rank, perhaps so powerful that ordinary courts were afraid to try him. The House of Commons was the accuser, and the House of Lords judged the case. Impeachment was thus a form of trial particularly suitable for the King's ministers if any ground of complaint could be found against them. Several men who held monopolies were impeached at this time, but the really important trial was that of Bacon, Lord Chancellor. The Lord Chancellor was one of the King's ministers, and he was also a judge. Bacon was accused of accepting bribes, a most serious charge against any judge, and especially against the highest in rank of all the judges. Bacon admitted that he had received presents from people who had had cases in his court, but he declared that the acceptance of such gifts had not influenced his decisions. He was found guilty and was sentenced to imprisonment and fine, and was declared to be incapable of holding any office in future. The King remitted the fine and released Bacon from prison, but the great lawyer's career was over. The real importance of the impeachment is that the Commons had succeeded in their effort to remove one of the King's ministers. They had arranged their attack cleverly, for they had chosen to bring against Bacon a charge of so disgraceful a nature that the King could not interfere to save his minister.

The same Parliament met again in the following year. There seemed to be a prospect at this time that the Prince of Wales would marry a princess who was Spanish and Catholic. The proposed marriage was unpopular, and many people wanted a war with Spain on behalf of the Elector Palatine, a Protestant prince who was in exile from his dominions. The

House of Commons sent a petition to the King, praying him to marry the Prince to a Protestant princess. The King replied that they had no right to meddle in such matters, which, he said, were too high for them. The Commons retorted that they were entitled to discuss all State affairs. To this the King replied by sending for the Journal of the House of Commons, a big book which contained a record of its daily proceedings, and from it he, with his own hand, tore the page containing the offending claim. Parliament was of course dissolved.

The fourth and last Parliament of the reign met in 1624. It passed a law declaring monopolies to be illegal. They had been granted by the King, who was able to supplement his income with the money he received from the people to whom they were granted. These persons paid him a lump sum for the privilege, and, in many cases, a royalty on each article made or sold. This new law, therefore, had an effect on the King's income. But Parliament was so little accustomed to making laws that its members were not even able to draw up the wording of a law in a satisfactory way, and Charles I found a way of granting monopolies without actually breaking the Statute of 1624.

Another of the King's ministers was impeached by this Parliament. The Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer, was charged with embezzlement of some of the money entrusted to his care, and was found guilty. The real reason for the Commons' dislike of Middlesex was his opposition to the expected war with Spain. It will be noticed, however, that they again succeeded in making an accusation so discreditable to the minister attacked that the King could not intervene to save him.

What had Parliament achieved during the reign? It had asserted, with success, its right to impeach the King's ministers, and it had exercised this right on two occasions. It had protested against the New Impositions, with no success, indeed, at the time, but the matter had not been forgotten. It had passed a law against monopolies. It had asserted its right to discuss all State affairs, though the King had strongly disputed the claim. But it had not secured the right of meeting regularly. It had not claimed such a right, and perhaps the members had not yet clearly seen the importance of this point. Until this was secured other privileges were valueless, for the King could always win in any disagreement with his Parliament by

dissolving that body. While he could do this, Parliament could exercise no effective control over the Crown.

The struggle between Crown and Parliament had begun. It was not yet very intense. No blood had been shed, and the only violence that had been offered was the tearing of a piece of paper. Matters were to go farther in the next reign.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JAMES I

ENGLAND under Elizabeth had been unfriendly with Spain. For thirty years the two countries, the one the champion of Rome, the other the hope of the Protestants everywhere, had been drifting towards war. From 1587 to the end of the reign they were engaged in a war which still continued when James I succeeded the old Queen. Neither Spain nor England had crushed the other. Many people, indeed, hoped and expected that a decisive blow might still be struck, and they wanted the war to continue. Others, however, realised that peace must come some day, and that there was little use in continuing a war in which no prospect of victory was in sight.

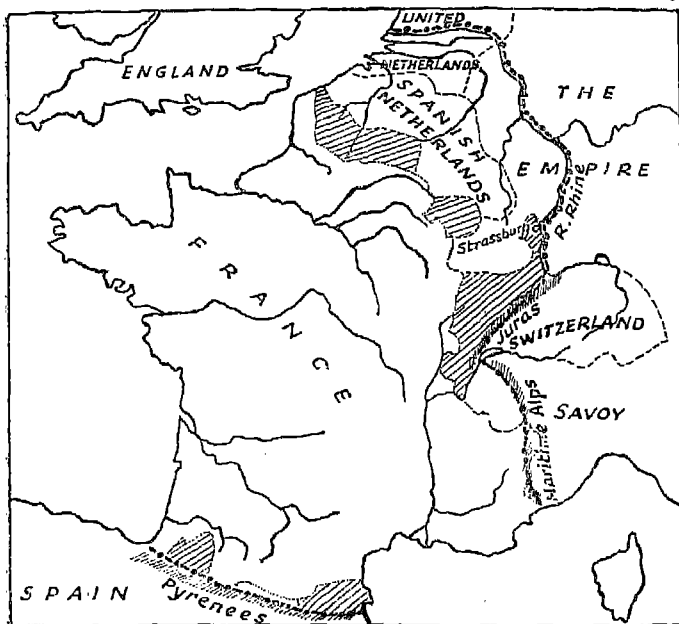
James disliked war, not, indeed, because of the personal cowardice with which he is sometimes charged (this would not be a reason for avoiding war, for he, as King, need not make war in person if he did not care to do so), but because he was proud of his ability in negotiating with foreign powers. He boasted that he could gain more by diplomacy than by war. The claim was probably justified, for the gains from war are not always great and are not nearly so certain as its losses. War is an appeal to force, and when fighting begins between two countries diplomacy between them ceases. James, therefore, preferred peace, and took steps to end the Spanish war which was proceeding at his accession. This was easier for him to do than it would have been for Elizabeth. The Spaniards were quite ready to make peace, but would have hesitated to treat with Elizabeth, who had been excommunicated and deposed by the Pope. But James had not been excommunicated, and the Spanish King might make a treaty with him without acting against his conscience. In the treaty which re-established peace James gained very good terms, and justified his own high opinion of his ability. He did not give up the right to help the Dutch against Spain, and he refused to renounce the English claim to trade with Spanish colonies. The

Spanish had never recognised this right, though Hawkins, and others after him, had endeavoured to trade in spite of Spanish prohibition.

But peace with Spain did not mean friendship with Spain. The most interesting person in western Europe at this time was Henry IV, the first of the Bourbon kings of France. Formerly a Huguenot, Henry had become a Catholic in order to make sure of his hold on the crown of France. The French were a nation of Catholics, the Huguenots (Protestants) forming only a small minority, and a Catholic people was not likely to accept a Huguenot king. But though Henry became a Catholic he remained well disposed to the Huguenots, and his whole sympathy and policy were on the side of Protestantism and against the Catholic powers. He found that the two chief Catholic countries, the Empire and Spain, pressed hardly upon France. The Emperor in the east, Spain in the south-west and the north-east, threatened the safety of his kingdom. It was his aim to free France from this stranglehold. He began, in fact, the Bourbon policy of attempting to provide France with "natural boundaries"—the Pyrenees to the south-west, the Maritime Alps to the south-east, the Alps and the Rhine to the east and north-east. Many wars were fought, thousands of men were slain, and masses of treasure were expended by Henry's son and grandson, Louis XIII and Louis XIV, in the vain endeavour to bring to pass this dream of natural boundaries.

Henry formed an alliance of Protestant powers to combat the Catholic league of Spain and the Empire. The German Protestant princes, the Dutch, and James I all ranged themselves under Henry's leadership, and a war between the Catholic powers and the league was about to begin when Henry was assassinated, in 1610. Such a war would have settled much more than the boundaries of France. With all the Protestant powers on one side and the chief Catholic powers on the other side, it would have determined the religion of Europe. It would have settled whether Protestantism was to survive or whether the Reformation was to be stamped out.

The death of Henry IV postponed such a war. His son, Louis XIII, was a child, whose mother, Marie de Medici, ruled as Regent. Marie reversed her husband's policy and allied with Spain. Henry's league disappeared. James I, however, remained in touch with his other allies, and the marriage of

his daughter Elizabeth, in 1613, to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who was looked upon as the leader of the Protestant group of German princes, indicated that James was on definitely friendly terms with them. He saw that the European war which was about to begin when Henry IV died was merely

———Boundary of France in 1610.
Shaded areas represent annexaiions, 1610–1715.
-·-·-·-·-·-"Natural" Bounderies of France.

FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

postponed and not averted. His great desire was to bring about a settlement of the European religious question which should make the war unnecessary. In order that he might be able to do this it was needful for him to secure a position of commanding influence with both sides. He already stood well with the Protestant princes. If he could secure an equal footing with Spain he would be so placed that his advice would be listened to with respect by both the Catholic and the

Protestant sides. He would be the arbiter of Europe, and he would use his influence in the cause of peace.

From the year 1614 onward James sought the friendship of Spain. It is easy to criticise this aim on the ground that a Catholic and a Protestant alliance were inconsistent with each other. Yet the two sides were so evenly matched, and the issue of a conflict so uncertain, that neither cared to risk offending a powerful King. And if both were on apparently friendly terms with him, both would be compelled to listen to him. James's plan, therefore, was not altogether foolish.

As was the case in Tudor times, the visible sign of an alliance was a royal marriage, and it was proposed that Charles, the Prince of Wales, should marry a Spanish princess, the Infanta Maria. The difficulties in the way of the marriage were enormous. The unpopularity of the match in both countries, due to the difference in religion, would have caused most kings to drop the proposal. But negotiations went on.

At this time James sanctioned an adventure which was quite inconsistent with real friendship with Spain. Sir Walter Raleigh, the famous Elizabethan voyager, had been involved in treason at the beginning of the reign, and had been condemned to death, though the sentence had not been carried out. From 1604 to 1616 he had been a prisoner in the Tower, and he now offered to lead an expedition to Guiana, in South America, in search of a gold mine. James stipulated that the Spanish should not be attacked, and Raleigh asserted that the mine was remote from any Spanish settlement. Arrived at the Orinoco, the expedition found a new Spanish settlement at San Thomé. Raleigh was ill, and one of his lieutenants attacked the town and burned it. But no mine was found, and Raleigh, in desperation, proposed a raid on the Spanish treasure fleet. His men, however, insisted on returning to England, where he was arrested upon arrival. The Spanish ambassador demanded his surrender as a pirate. If James refused it would be an admission that he had sanctioned the expedition, and there would be an end of friendship with Spain. To avoid the unpleasant necessity of giving him up, James had Raleigh executed on the old sentence passed in 1604.

Matters came to a head in Germany in 1618. The Emperor Matthias was King of Bohemia, and he wished to secure the succession of his cousin Ferdinand to the Bohemian throne. The Bohemians recognised Ferdinand as the heir of Matthias,

in order to arrange without war a settlement of the religious question which should be acceptable to both sides was a worthy aim. James, indeed, was unable to carry out his purpose, but it is doubtful if any man could have succeeded. The religious hatreds in Europe were such that bloodshed proved to be inevitable.

James's leading minister till 1612 was Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the son of Elizabeth's minister, William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. Salisbury worked hard, and exercised great influence on the King's policy at home and abroad until his death in 1612. Sir Edward Coke, Attorney-General, was a friend of Salisbury, and he became Lord Chief Justice, but he was never in high favour at court, and in 1616 was dismissed from his position. Salisbury's cousin, Francis Bacon, was slower in securing promotion. He at length became Attorney-General, and in 1618 was appointed Lord Chancellor, which office he held until his fall in 1621.

On Salisbury's death James for a time came under the influence of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. He proved unworthy of the royal friendship, and he and his wife fell under suspicion of being concerned in a murder. When Carr fell, a younger man became the King's confidant—George Villiers, who was appointed Lord High Admiral. He became Duke of Buckingham in 1623, and directed the King's policy in all ways towards the end of the reign. He was as great a friend of the Prince of Wales as of the King, and he continued in power after Charles became King, until his assassination in 1628. He was hated by the Puritan party, since he leaned to Arminian views. He was disliked by the nobles of the court on account of his arrogance. In considering whether Buckingham deserved the condemnation which has been bestowed upon him it should be remembered that it is probable that any other man in his place would have been equally detested. He was said to be incompetent, but the charge was brought by those who hated him. He opposed the monopolists who were impeached in 1621, and he advised the King to redress grievances. While he was Lord High Admiral the navy was strengthened. And he did not oppose the meeting of Parliament. He aimed at securing the co-operation of Parliament with the King for the good of the country. In the seven years, 1621–28, no fewer than five Parliaments met. That their chief aim was to get rid of him was not altogether his fault.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I

CHARLES I succeeded his father early in 1625. He was a young man and had been well educated. He was deeply religious, he believed absolutely in the divine character of his position, and he had a strong sense of his duty. He was not a man of great ability, however, and, though he might be obstinate in following what he thought to be his duty, he was in other ways often hesitating and uncertain, not infrequently changing his mind, and rarely or never giving his full confidence to his advisers.

A few weeks after his accession he married a French princess, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV, and sister of Louis XIII. The new Queen was only fifteen years old at the time of her wedding. She was a Roman Catholic, but the French court, in its enmity towards Spain, had not the same objection as the Spanish to a princess marrying a heretic King. Yet the marriage was little more popular in England than a Spanish match would have been, and it was open to much the same objections. It had been argued that, if the King married the Infanta, his children would be partly Spanish by birth and that later Stuart kings would lean to Spain and Roman Catholicism. This proved to be true of the French marriage. The later Stuarts leaned strongly on France. One took the French King's money; the other fled to France for refuge. Both became Roman Catholics. Henrietta Maria at first exercised small influence over the King. She was little more than a child, but as she grew to womanhood he fell genuinely in love with her, and she was able to control his policy to a great extent. Her influence, however, was not always to his advantage.

During the year of his accession Charles called his first Parliament. He had two reasons for doing so. In the first place, he expected that the usual grant of tunnage and poundage for life would be made, so that his income might be on the

but a number of Protestant nobles disregarded the election. They revolted against the Emperor and chose James's son-in-law, Frederick, Elector Palatine, to be their King. Fighting occurred, and Frederick was defeated at the Battle of the White Hill and was expelled from Bohemia. Princes on both sides took up arms, Spain entered into the war, fighting became general, and in the turmoil Frederick was driven from the Palatinate by Spanish troops. The war which James had foreseen and had tried to avert had begun.

Could he stop it? He thought that he could. He and his people were at one in wishing to see the Elector restored to the Palatinate. But while the people clamoured for war with Spain, James continued negotiations, and not without some hope of success. The Spanish were anxious that England should not intervene, and if it had been certain that a Spanish refusal to restore the Palatinate to Frederick would have been followed by an Anglo-Spanish war they might have given way. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in England, was convinced, however, that James's love of peace would prove too strong and that he would not fight, and accordingly the Spanish army remained in the Palatinate. James continued to negotiate. English volunteers joined the army of the unlucky Elector in great numbers, but no English army appeared.

Matters dragged on. The proposed marriage of the Prince of Wales did not take place. Yet the match was not abandoned, and in 1623 the Prince, with his friend the Duke of Buckingham, visited Madrid in secret. Their presence was discovered and they were treated with courtesy. But no good came of the incident. They became convinced that the marriage would never take place unless the Prince became a Roman Catholic. They returned, and the match was broken off. This, at least, was to the liking of the people, as it brought war nearer. The King could hold out no longer. War began in 1624. Help was promised by Christian IV, King of Denmark. A large army was sent under Count Mansfeld to help the Elector. The expedition was mismanaged and was a failure. Early in 1625 James died, leaving the country as he had found it, at war with Spain.

CHAPTER XXVII

JAMES I AND HIS MINISTERS

THE character of James I presents an interesting study. He has been criticised more than most modern English kings, and in some ways this criticism is undeserved. If it be true that his personal appearance was unpleasing, this is a physical matter that is unworthy of consideration. It is said that he was a coward, and that he shuddered at the sight of a drawn sword. But this is small evidence of cowardice, and the fact that he was fond of hunting proves that he was not afraid of risking hard knocks and broken bones.

James was well educated, and was much more learned than the average king of his time. He was versed in logic, and his powers of reasoning were great. He possessed much theological knowledge, and was able not merely to settle but to understand the religious quarrels of his time. A French statesman is said to have described him as the wisest fool in Christendom. This epithet has remained, and he has in consequence borne a rather undeserved reputation for stupidity.

It may be said that one of the characteristics of a great man is that his ideas are in advance of his time. The man whose views are those of the mass of the people is no greater than they are. But he who can look ahead, who can put forth ideals, and who can guide the course of events towards their fulfilment, is fitted to be a leader of men. Judged by this standard, James was a great man. He saw, at a time when his people did not see, the desirability of union between England and Scotland. A century elapsed before the union was brought about, and not until long afterwards did people on both sides of the border become fully reconciled to it. He saw that peace was preferable to war. In this he was even farther advanced, for some people are not fully convinced of it yet.

For nothing else has he been so unsparingly condemned as for his foreign policy. Yet if it proved to be unworkable it at least represented a great ideal. To be the arbiter of Europe

same basis as that of his father. In addition, he intended to ask for a grant of money for the war with Spain. He had no doubt that both expectations would be fulfilled. The first was in accordance with a precedent of two and a quarter centuries. And the nation had been eager for war to be declared against Spain, and ought to be willing to pay for it. To his surprise and indignation Parliament did not act as he wished. They granted him tunnage and poundage for one year only, and they granted two only of the twelve subsidies for which he had hoped for the war. The King naturally regarded these proceedings as an affront to his dignity. If he was ever in doubt as to the cause of such parliamentary action he was soon enlightened. Parliament proceeded to make complaints about the Duke of Buckingham, and the King perceived that if he would dismiss the Duke he would get from Parliament the money he wanted. He preferred to dispense with Parliament.

Operations against Spain were necessarily on a more limited scale than they would have been if Parliament had made a more generous grant. An expedition, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, Lord Wimbledon, was fitted out to attack Cadiz. The plan was that the Spanish port should be captured just before the arrival there of the treasure fleet which crossed the Atlantic annually, bearing the year's produce of the mines of Central and South America. The fleet would, it was hoped, sail into Cadiz harbour, be promptly seized by the English, and be taken to England. The advantages of the plan were many. If successful, it would deal a heavy blow at Spanish finances for the year, and it would provide Charles with funds without further recourse to Parliament. It smacked, moreover, of the daring of Elizabethan times, and the achievement would be immensely gratifying to Englishmen. King and Duke would share in a blaze of popularity, and there would be little to fear from future Parliaments. It is not too much to say that the complete success of this effort might have changed the whole course of the reign.

But the expedition failed. Cadiz was not captured, and an effort to snatch victory out of the jaws of defeat by taking the treasure fleet at sea was equally unsuccessful, since the galleons were not even met. The fiasco left Charles with no alternative to the calling of a second Parliament.

With full knowledge of the King's embarrassments the

Commons in the new Parliament, emboldened by the success of the attacks on two important ministers in the previous reign, resolved to impeach Buckingham. But the charges against him were not well chosen. They wanted not merely his downfall but his death, and to compass this they must bring a charge of treason. Treason is a crime against the King. Yet the Duke had for some years been on terms of close friendship with the King, and to prove that he had acted traitorously would be very difficult. Definite charges were, indeed, brought forward, but they were difficult to prove, and if they had been proved it is probable that they would not have amounted to treason. Had the impeachment run its course the Duke ought to, and probably would, have been acquitted. But the King would not risk the issue. He imprisoned Sir John Eliot, the leader of the impeachment, for a short time, in the hope of stopping the proceedings, but when Eliot was released the trial was resumed. To end it Charles dissolved Parliament.

He now found himself involved in war with France. As he had so recently indicated by his marriage his friendship with that country, this may seem strange. Many minor matters contributed to the breach, but one of the causes was the personal enmity of Buckingham and Cardinal Richelieu, the leading man in France. The war was a serious mistake for Charles. If he had not enough money to carry on one war he was in worse plight with two on his hands. He should have made up his mind clearly what he wanted to do. If he intended to retain all his royal rights and not to give way to Parliament he should have withdrawn from foreign wars. If he wanted to exert a great influence in European affairs he should have come to some agreement with his Parliament. He could not fight his foreign enemies and his Parliament at the same time. But he did not yet understand this.

Money was wanted for the French war. To call a third Parliament seemed useless, and Charles resorted to the levying of a forced loan. This was really a tax imposed by the King without the consent of Parliament, for the amount to be contributed by each man was fixed, and though it was called a loan there was little chance of the money ever being repaid. There was much opposition, and pressure was applied by the King's agents to those who were expected to lend the money. In some cases men were brought before military courts on charges of disloyalty; soldiers were sent to live in the homes of

others who would not pay. Five knights who refused to pay were imprisoned by the King. By such means money was raised—not so much, however, as the King wanted.

At this time Richelieu and the King of France were about to besiege Rochelle. The city was a stronghold of the Huguenots, who were holding out against the Crown. English sympathy was of course with the besieged, and it was decided to send a fleet and army to help them. With the money raised by "loan" a fleet was prepared, and it sailed under the personal command of Buckingham. Rochelle being on the coast, its siege would not be complete unless it was blockaded by sea as well as by land. At the entrance to the harbour was a small island called Rhé, and on the island was a fort, St. Martin. Whoever held the fort and the island controlled entrance to and exit from the harbour. Buckingham landed his men on the island and attacked the fort, which was occupied by the French. But a relieving French force landed and attacked him in the rear. He was beaten back to his ships, and returned to England. He was blamed for the failure, which he attributed to the insufficiency of his forces. With adequate reinforcements he might have won. The King would have given him more if he had had more money. Thus the responsibility for Buckingham's failure was by the King's partisans attributed to Parliament.

A third Parliament was now required; it met in 1628. It strongly resented the King's method of raising money during the previous year, and it presented to him the Petition of Right, which dealt with matters arising out of the raising of the forced loan. The Petition asked the royal assent to the following demands:

(1) No tax or loan of any kind to be levied without consent of Parliament.

(2) No person to be imprisoned without cause shown.

(3) Billeting of soldiers and sailors on private persons to cease.

(4) No person to be put on trial by court-martial in time of peace.

The King was reluctant to such definite limitations being placed on his authority. Had he not been in desperate need of money he would have refused. He gave an evasive answer at first, but Parliament pressed for his direct and formal

consent. He gave it, and the Petition became a law. Parliament granted him five subsidies (worth about £400,000). This was a larger sum than the King had hitherto been given, and instead of dissolving Parliament he prorogued it, that is, he sent it away, but reserved the right of calling it together again. Perhaps he thought that a Parliament which would grant such a considerable sum might repeat its liberality in the following year.

With the money another expedition was fitted out for the relief of Rochelle. It was about to sail when Buckingham was murdered at Portsmouth by a Puritan fanatic named Felton. Delay occurred, and when the fleet (now under the command of the Earl of Lindsey) at length reached Rochelle it was no more successful than its predecessor. Soon afterwards Rochelle was captured by the French.

The death of Buckingham deprived Charles of his one real friend. Although Parliament had pressed for his removal ever since the beginning of the reign, the King gained nothing by the death of his minister. Hitherto it had been possible for Parliament to profess great loyalty to the King, and to take the view that the evils of which complaint was made were due to the bad advice of the favourite. Now that he was dead criticism was directed against the King himself.

In 1629 the third Parliament reassembled. If the King hoped for a further grant he was to be disappointed. Parliament was full of complaints. He was still levying tunnage and poundage, although the one year for which it was granted had long since expired. Some members asserted that this was a violation of the Petition of Right, although tunnage and poundage had not been mentioned definitely in the Petition. The King had imprisoned a merchant who was a member of Parliament for refusing to pay, so that the question was complicated by a claim that the privilege of members of Parliament to be free from arrest had been violated. Religious matters, also, came up for discussion. Parliament was largely Puritan, and the fact that the King had appointed Arminian clergy to be bishops and to be royal chaplains was strongly resented. Resolutions were proposed that any one who paid tunnage and poundage while it was levied without parliamentary consent, or who advised the levying of these duties, or who introduced innovations in religion, was an enemy of the State. The Speaker, acting on private instructions from the King,

tried to prevent the passing of the resolutions by leaving the chair. Members rushed forward and held him forcibly in his place while the resolutions were put to the House and carried. This scene of disorder was of course followed by the dissolution of Parliament, and by the imprisonment of certain members who had taken part in it. Sir John Eliot was again sent to the Tower, where he was strictly confined and died in 1632.

The King now realised that harmony between himself and Parliament was impossible. To give up his whole way of government in order to secure parliamentary approval was unthinkable, and he decided that in future he would rule without Parliament.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE NON-PARLIAMENTARY RULE OF CHARLES I

For a space of eleven years Charles I ruled without a Parliament. In doing this he was acting within his legal rights, as no law existed which would compel him to call a Parliament. But he would get no further grant of money for his wars, and he soon saw that if he would do without Parliament he must do without wars. Accordingly, he made peace with France in 1629 and with Spain in 1630, and he abandoned all hope of restoring the Elector Palatine to his dominions. With his ordinary income he might hope to rule the country without parliamentary assistance, but only so long as war could be averted. His system of non-parliamentary rule would last while peace lasted. It would collapse on the outbreak of war.

Even in time of peace, and with the exercise of rigid economy, Charles's income was none too large, and he resorted to various expedients to increase it. It should not be assumed, however, that his financial devices were illegal, though some of them were certainly vexatious. Even the continued levy of tunnage and poundage without consent of Parliament might be justified by a royalist lawyer on the ground of precedent, and by reference to the admitted right of the Crown to regulate trade. Further, tunnage and poundage were not mentioned in the Petition of Right, and the omission might be construed into an indirect admission of the King's right to continue the levy. Charles also made money by the grant of monopolies, the recipients of which were expected to pay for the privilege given them. Often, in addition, a "royalty" had to be paid on each article made or sold. This might seem to be, but was not, a violation of the Statute of 1624, which prohibited the grant of monopolies to individual persons. The law did not debar companies from holding monopolies and did not intend to do so, since foreign trade was usually carried on by monopolistic companies. Charles granted monopolies to companies trading or manufacturing in England, which had not been contemplated by the framers of the Statute.

He revived an old law of the reign of Edward III by which all men who owned land of the yearly value of £40 or upwards were to become knights. This law, which had never been repealed, was intended to provide a sufficient force of knights for the royal army. Charles used it to replenish his purse. Knighthood was to be had only from the King, and fees were payable on receipt of the honour. Those who neglected the law were fined. By fees or by fines the King profited.

Charles instituted an inquiry into the limits of the Crown lands in various parts of the country. He suspected that many neighbouring landowners, or their ancestors, had encroached on royal lands. Without the King's knowledge stretches of forest had been enclosed. The inquiry revealed that much of what had formerly been Crown land was in private hands. Unless a clear title could be proved by its owner it was taken back by the King, and the offending person was fined. These proceedings were not illegal, but they were harsh and often unjust—harsh, because the encroachment was probably made by an ancestor of the existing holder, and unjust, because in many cases the land had really been granted away by a former King, though the document which would have proved this had been lost.

The most notable and most criticised of Charles's expedients for raising money was ship-money. It was a tax levied by the King's authority in order to provide ships for the navy. Objection was raised by John Hampden, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, who refused to pay his contribution of twenty shillings. The case came before the Court of Exchequer Chamber, and was argued before twelve judges. On Hampden's behalf three arguments were brought forward. It was contended that the tax had hitherto been levied on coast counties only, while it was now being imposed on inland counties as well. To this it was replied that naval defence was a matter of importance to all, whether on the coast or inland. It was argued also that hitherto the tax had been levied only in case of necessity. The reply was that someone must be the judge of such necessity, and that it was the King's right to determine when the tax became necessary. The third argument on behalf of Hampden was that the tax had been levied without the authority of Parliament, and the royal reply took the form of a claim that the authority of the Crown was sufficient. It can hardly be doubted that, on the first two points, the Crown

argument was reasonable; on the third point Hampden would seem to have been right. But the judges thought differently. Seven of them decided for the King and five for Hampden, who, therefore, lost his case and was ordered to pay. The importance of the case was, to the King, that it declared he was acting legally in levying ship-money; to his opponents, that, if such was the law, then the law must be altered as soon as opportunity offered. It should be added that the money which was raised was spent on the building of ships, and that the need for the tax lay in the presence of pirates in the English Channel.

By such various means, all within the law, the King tried to raise a little money to eke out his inadequate income. With the utmost care he was unable to avoid falling into debt, and his difficulties grew greater as the years went on.

His chief ministers in this period were Sir Thomas Wentworth, who became Earl of Strafford, and William Laud, Bishop of London, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Wentworth had been one of the King's opponents in the first and third Parliaments (he was not a member of the second) because he disliked Buckingham, but before the King's friend was murdered Wentworth changed sides and supported the Crown. He was for some years President of the Council of the North, and was very powerful in the north of England. In 1633 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland, but he wrote to Charles frequently, and in English affairs the King acted under his guidance. Laud, an Arminian, succeeded Abbot as Archbishop of Canterbury. He was high-minded, learned, able, and earnest, and turned his attention to the restoration of order in the Church. He held that the Puritans were wrong in many of the changes they had introduced, and in the course of a few years he did much to earn their dislike. He ordered the use of certain vestments, known as copes, in the cathedrals. He insisted that the altar in every church should be at the east end of the building, and that a rail should be placed before it. In some places, it seems, the altar had been put in the middle of the church, and people had left their hats on it during divine service, and had even used it as a writing-table. In some churches where Puritan influence prevailed, lectures and sermons were delivered at times other than those of public worship. Laud ordered that the services in the Book of Common Prayer should be used on all such

occasions. He permitted people who had attended divine service to engage in "lawful sports" on Sundays. Much to the disgust of the Puritans, football, dancing, and archery were practised on the village greens throughout the land on Sundays with the full approval of the Archbishop. Laud was bitterly criticised for doing these things; but it should be remembered that he was trying to secure obedience to the law, which his opponents were disregarding.

The proceedings of the King and his ministers during this period were not such as to win for them popularity. There can be no doubt that public opinion was hardening against them. If the King had been wiser he would have tried to act in such a way as to win the support of the mass of his people; he could then have afforded to disregard the mutterings of Puritan and parliamentarian extremists. As things were, such men became the leaders and directors of popular discontent. Yet no rebellion occurred. The King had no standing army, and revolt would have been easy. That it did not happen is proof that the burden of his rule was not yet felt to be intolerable.

During this period Charles relied for support upon the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission and the Council of the North. The High Commission Court had been established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to deal with Church affairs, and it was used by Archbishop Laud in carrying out his reforms. The Council of the North, established by Henry VIII, and the Star Chamber, which dated from the time of Henry VII, were used by Charles I in the maintenance of his authority. Many cases came before these courts, which distinguished themselves by their severity and soon became odious to the King's opponents.

Much of the King's attention during this period was directed to his northern kingdom. Charles visited Scotland in 1633 and was crowned King of Scots. He took the opportunity to extend his father's measures for union between the Church of England and that of Scotland. James had restored bishops in the latter in 1610. Charles now increased their number and extended their power. Laud, who accompanied the King, gave great offence by trying to secure the wearing of surplices by the Scottish clergy. He caused a Prayer Book to be drawn up for use in the Scottish Church. The volume was ready by 1637, and the King ordered it to be used. Such a

storm of opposition arose, however, that Charles for once bowed to it, and suspended the use of the new book.

The objections of the Scots to this new Prayer Book were manifold. The book itself was an excellent production. Nevertheless, it was better suited to England than to Scotland. The Scots objected to any set form of prayer. In the Scottish Church long extempore prayers were commonly used, and the introduction of set forms seemed to the clergy and people to smack of popery. But the greatest objection was that the book came from a foreign source. Canterbury was, to them, in a foreign country, and its Archbishop was a foreign prelate. Their objection to a book which came from Canterbury was of precisely the same character as the English objection to papal authority in England.

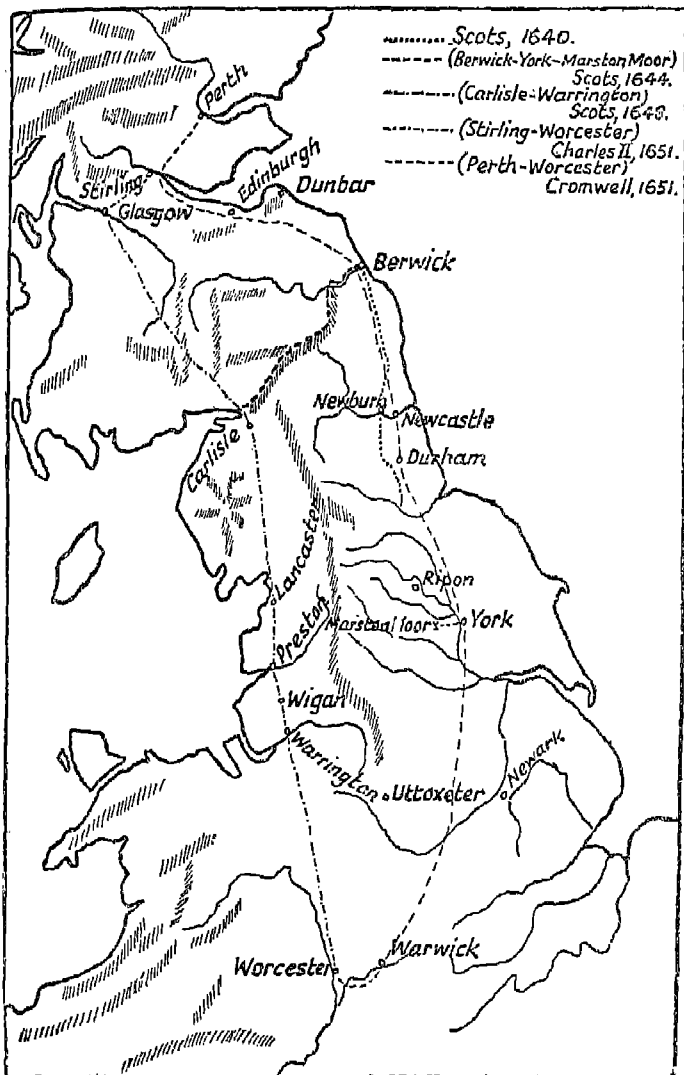
The King called a General Assembly of the Scottish Church to meet at Glasgow in 1638. In Scotland a General Assembly consisted of representatives of the Church all over the country, and as most Scots were members of the "Kirk" the Assembly was much more truly representative of the people than Parliament was, since in the latter body the nobles were much more powerful than the elected members. The Assembly was called to consider the Prayer Book; it abolished the Prayer Book, and it abolished the bishops. Meanwhile, committees were appointed to control national affairs, and a Covenant was drawn up, to which all might swear, to "maintain the purity of the Gospel as established before the recent novations." The Scots were not very true to fact in describing bishops and a Prayer Book as "novations," since there had always been bishops in their Church except in the period 1560–1610, and there had always been a set form of prayer till 1560. But they were terribly in earnest.

The King upon hearing of the proceedings of the Assembly ordered it to disperse. It refused, and in consequence became a rebel assembly. Thereupon Charles collected forces, and marched north to reduce Scotland to order. But the Assembly raised forces. Scotland had not experienced any fighting for the past seventy years, but many thousands of Scots had fought as volunteers in the Thirty Years War, and Leslie, the Scottish commander, soon found himself at the head of an army of determined veterans, who had learned to fight for Protestantism in Germany and were ready to defend their faith at home. The King reached Berwick, to find that the road into Scotland

was commanded by Leslie's troops. No fighting occurred in this, the first Bishops' War. An agreement was reached that another General Assembly should be summoned to meet at Edinburgh.

Charles had gained nothing but a little time. He had no hope that a second General Assembly would reverse the decisions of the first, but he wanted to be better prepared to meet his rebellious Scottish subjects. To wage war he needed money. He broke his resolution and called a Parliament. The members met in angry mood. The King proposed a bargain to them. If they would give him twelve subsidies (about £900,000) he would give up his right to levy ship-money. They refused, and the Short Parliament was dissolved.

The second General Assembly merely confirmed the proceedings of the first. The King dissolved it, and again the Scots took up arms. In the second Bishops' War, without waiting for Charles to invade their country, the Scots entered Northumberland. The King hastened north with such forces as he could raise, only to be defeated in a battle at Newburn, on the Tyne. An agreement was drawn up at Ripon, by which the Scots were to remain in possession of the counties of Northumberland and Durham, and the King was to pay them £850 a day until the outstanding questions in Scotland were settled. He would never have engaged to do this had he not been compelled to do so by his defeat. The money could never be raised without a parliamentary grant. But Charles made one last effort to avoid meeting a Parliament. He called the peers of England to meet him, and advise him, at York. They advised him to summon a Parliament.

His system of non-parliamentary rule had lasted while peace had been maintained. But war had come; an enemy had invaded the kingdom and had taken possession of the northern counties. The King could do without a Parliament no longer.

THE FOUR SCOTTISH INVASIONS OF ENGLAND, 1640–51

CHAPTER XXX

THE LONG PARLIAMENT: BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT REBELLION

THE Long Parliament met on 3rd November, 1640, in determined mood. Its members felt that, with the King in such desperate need for money, they had him cornered at last, and they were minded to make full use of their opportunity. They were resolved, in fact, to destroy his system of government, utterly and completely. The King's ministers, his financial system, his courts, and his personal rule without Parliament being summoned—all were to go.

Parliament's first business was to bring about the fall of the King's ministers. Several impeachments were begun, of which the two most important were those of Wentworth and Laud. The Archbishop was committed to the Tower, but his impeachment was not pressed forward at the time, and he remained a prisoner for more than four years.

Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford, had been in Ireland for some years as Lord Deputy. His rule there was much criticised, but he at least kept peace and order. When Charles determined to call Parliament he desired Strafford to come home, in order that he might be in close touch with him and have the benefit of his advice in this critical time. Strafford did not wish to return. He had been a member of the parliamentary party at the beginning of the reign and he feared, and with good reason, that the leaders of the new Parliament would hate him bitterly for turning to the King's side. Impeachment was to be feared. In Ireland, with an army at his back, Strafford might laugh at the efforts of his enemies to bring him to trial; in London, it was a more serious matter. The King, however, insisted on his return to England, and promised him that "they shall not harm a hair of your head." He came to Parliament, was impeached at once, and was committed to the Tower.

The Commons soon found that it would be difficult to prove Strafford guilty of treason. Treason was a crime against the King, and, as in Buckingham's case, the real fault of Strafford in the eyes of Parliament was his support of the King. Definite charges were brought against him, but he defended himself with vigour, and in any case the charges did not amount to treason. His enemies produced a scrap of paper, a letter or memorandum, said to have been sent by Strafford to the King, in which he suggested that Charles should use the Irish army to crush the Scots. But instead of using the word "Scotland" he wrote "this country," although there could be no possible doubt of his meaning. Scotland was at the time in rebellion; England was not. Yet the Commons argued that Strafford was referring to England, and that in proposing to bring the Irish army over to England he was levying war against the King (which would be treason). As though a man who was considering the making of war against his King would tell the King all about it first! The case against the Earl was, in fact, remarkably weak, and there was every prospect that he would be acquitted.

The impeachment, therefore, was dropped. But Strafford was not liberated. The angry Commons decided to bring in a Bill of Attainder against him. (An Act of Attainder is an Act of Parliament which declares a man to be guilty of treason. No trial is necessary and no opportunity need be given to the unfortunate man to defend himself.) A few of the members seem to have been uneasy about the justice of this new move, but only fifty-nine voted against the Bill in the House of Commons. Their names were printed and placarded in London under the heading, "Straffordians—betrayers of their country." This description was applied to men who refused to agree to the execution of a prisoner without trial!

It seemed likely, however, that the House of Lords would reject the Bill. If the Lords were unwilling to condemn Strafford after trial, they would be even less likely to send him to his death without a hearing. They wavered, but at the critical time news was spread of an alleged "Army Plot." It was said that the Queen was raising an army with which to march on London in order to dissolve Parliament and release Strafford. An excited London mob gathered outside the Houses of Parliament, shouting for the death of the Earl. The Lords, in fear, passed the Bill.

It remained necessary to obtain the King's consent in order that the Bill should become law, and Charles had promised that Strafford should suffer no harm. For two days, at Whitehall, he remained undecided. If he agreed, his promise was broken and his honour soiled. If he stood by his friend he would get no money from Parliament (and the Scots were still in the kingdom), and, moreover, threats of impeaching the Queen reached his ears. His very crown would be in danger. The angry mob demanded Strafford's death. Courtiers with drawn swords prepared to guard the passages of the palace against an inrush of the people. In the midst of his hesitancy the King received a message from the Earl, giving him back his promise. He took Strafford at his word and signed the Bill. On 12th May, 1641, the Earl was beheaded.

Out of the whole affair only one person emerged with unsullied reputation, and that the victim. The King's honour was tarnished. Besides, his action was a mistake. He gained nothing by it, not even a grant of money, and he lost a friend. In the dark days to come the presence by his side of such a man as Strafford might have changed defeat into victory. Even if he acted in fear for his crown and his life (though it is but fair to state that he was influenced by fear for the Queen's safety rather than his own), by his action he merely postponed, and made more certain, the loss of both. Had he fallen at this juncture he would have borne a higher reputation than is his to-day. Nor did Parliament show up well. The Lords acted from craven fear, the Commons from undying hate. Men learned, moreover, that as much, perhaps more, was to be feared from parliamentary as from royal tyranny.

The Commons were jubilant. "Has he given us Strafford? Then he can refuse us nothing," said Pym, the leader of the Commons. They proceeded with the work of sweeping away the machinery of the King's government. Tunnage and poundage, ship-money, and various other exactions were declared illegal without consent of Parliament. The Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission and the Council of the North were abolished. An act was passed declaring that this Parliament might be dissolved only with its own consent, and a Triennial Act ordered that no more than three years should elapse without a meeting of Parliament. The King looked on and agreed to one thing after another, helpless, so

long as the Scots occupied the north of England. Having done so much, the Commons granted him a little money. They gave him tunnage and poundage for two months, and renewed the grant every two months for about a year.

But there were indications that the Commons were no longer unanimous. Their primary purpose, of destroying Charles's system of government, was achieved. Some wanted to go farther, but many thought they had gone far enough, and were prepared to resist proposals to limit the King's power still more. Hitherto the Commons had contained the merest nucleus of a Court party, but from this time onward nearly half the House supported the Crown.

A proposal was made by the Puritan section that the Church should be reformed by the abolition of bishops. This would, of course, make it like the Church of Scotland, in which a similar proposal had just been carried by the General Assembly. This "Root and Branch Bill" was warmly debated, and it was opposed so vigorously that it was dropped. It was clear that the extreme Puritans were not numerous enough in the House of Commons to settle everything in their own way. Parliament then separated for a short holiday.

During the interval between the two sessions Charles visited Scotland, and came to an agreement with the Presbyterian leaders by which he yielded to their demands in the matter of the Scottish Church, while they withdrew their army from the north of England. During his stay in Edinburgh a plot, called "the Incident," to seize Argyll and other Presbyterian leaders, was discovered. Charles denied all knowledge of it, but it did no good to his cause. Before his return he found that certain parliamentary leaders had been communicating with the Scots for some time past.

He returned to London prepared to deal more vigorously with his Parliament now that he was no longer menaced by a foreign invasion. He was determined to get rid of it, though he was for a time uncertain whether to attack the leading members or not. Parliament had met for a second session during his absence, and began its proceedings by drawing up the Grand Remonstrance, a document which enumerated the various matters which had given ground for complaint since Charles became King. This reached his ear before his return, and he hastened back, thinking that Parliament would not dare to pass the Remonstrance after he had reached London.

But he was *not in time*. The Remonstrance was passed and presented to him.

This fact helped him to decide to take proceedings against those members of the House of Commons who had secretly written to the Scots. As the latter were at the time in arms against Charles, such conduct was "aiding the King's enemies," and this amounted to treason. The Queen urged him to arrest the offenders. He went with soldiers to the House of Commons to arrest five members, and found that they had fled, so that he had to retire without them. He had made a bad blunder, for he had violated the privilege of the House of Commons by entering it when it was sitting, and his personal dignity suffered through his failure to secure the culprits. He was wrong in trying personally to arrest them. He should have given orders, and left the actual arrest to others. He incurred the resentment of the Commons and excited the feeling of the mob, and he spoilt what might have been an excellent opportunity of dealing a blow at his opponents by the improper way in which he handled it.

The failure made Charles determine to get rid of Parliament at once. With any other Parliament an ordinary proclamation that it was dissolved would have been enough, but this Parliament would refuse to go if dismissed. Charles, therefore, found it necessary to wait till he had an army at his back to enforce his proclamation. He left London to raise an army with which he might return and dissolve Parliament. He certainly did not know that he was embarking upon a long and disastrous struggle which was to end in his death. Parliament suspected the King's purpose in leaving London, and in its turn began to raise forces for its own protection, and to prevent him from dissolving it.

Neither side was quite ready to fight. Parliament passed a bill to remove bishops from the House of Lords, and as the King was not quite prepared to march upon London he consented to the Bill, in order to gain time. It would make little difference when he re-entered the capital in triumph. He could easily reverse it then. The House of Commons then asked the King to let the militia be under the command of officers appointed by Parliament. (The militia was an army of men who left their ordinary occupations and became soldiers when called upon to do so.) The King had summoned them and refused to give up the command. Parliament then offered

the King the Nineteen Propositions, which consisted of the conditions upon which it was willing to let him rule in future. If he accepted them his power would be wholly lost, and he would be King only in name. He refused. No further communication took place between the two sides, and war began.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE GREAT REBELLION

It is certain that when fighting began in 1642 nobody on either side expected it to last for four years. The King had left London with the intention of returning very soon with an army at his back, so that he might dissolve Parliament, punish its leaders, and resume his former way of ruling. Parliament probably hoped to defend itself long enough to make terms.

The King directed his loyal subjects to meet him at Nottingham, and there was a ready response to his summons. Most of the Lords and nearly half the Commons chose to fight for him, so that the numbers of members in both Houses of Parliament were very much reduced. Country gentlemen and their servants took up arms in the royal cause. All zealous supporters of the Church of England sided with the King, and he was soon in command of a substantial force.

The strength of Parliament lay in London and the considerable towns of the south-east, which was then the most thickly-populated part of the country. The merchant class, which was mainly Puritan, stood solid for Parliament. Many people of the lower class in the towns joined, or were pressed, into the ranks of the parliamentary army, which was placed under the command of the Earl of Essex.

Charles began his march on the capital. Essex met him at Edgehill, but was unable to prevent his continued progress, and he went on to Brentford, in Middlesex, almost within sight of London. There he stopped. Londoners poured out and threw up earthworks at Turnham Green. The King's fatal indecision of character showed itself. Had he attacked he might have entered London in triumph, and the subsequent history of England might have been entirely changed. A firm adviser by his side might have induced him to attack. But his one competent adviser had now been dead for more than a year. Charles decided to retire to Oxford and spend the winter there. He never had so good a chance again. He

had failed to recognise his supreme opportunity and to take advantage of it.

Both sides enlarged their forces during the winter, and in 1643 the King planned a threefold attack upon London. The Earl of Newcastle was to march from the north and Sir Ralph Hopton from the south-west, while Charles advanced from Oxford. But neither Hopton nor the Earl could make headway against the forces opposed to them, and Charles was forced to postpone his attack. Meanwhile, he besieged the parliamentary stronghold of Gloucester, which, however, was relieved by a force from London. Earlier in the year John Hampden had been mortally wounded in a skirmish at Chalgrove Field, where the King's nephew, Rupert, won a useful victory. The year drew to a close with no great advantage gained by either side.

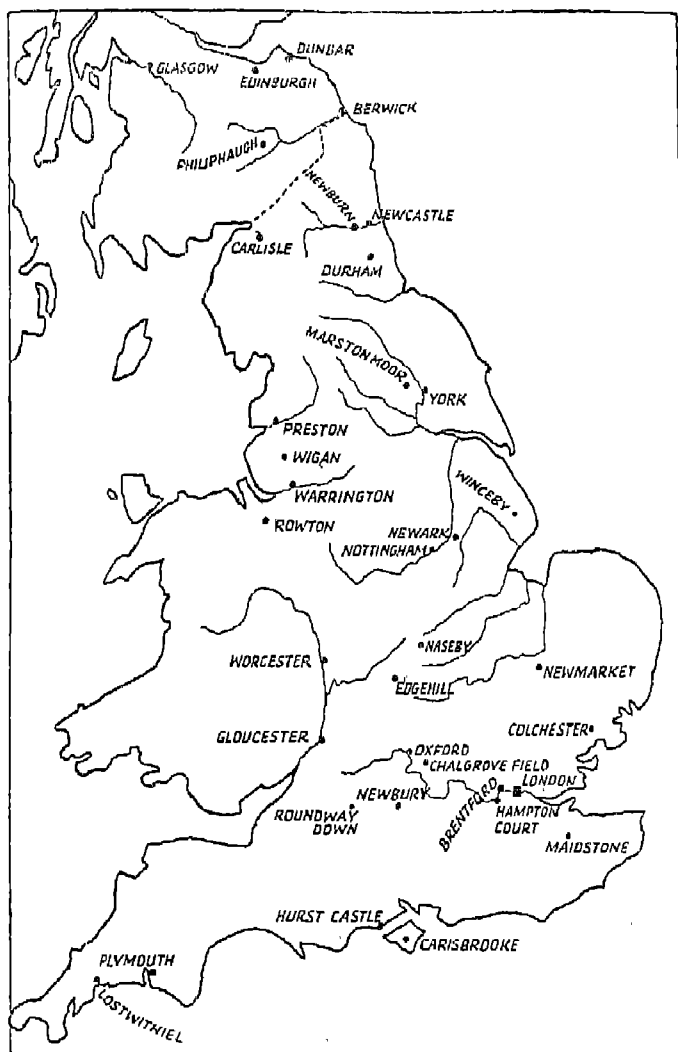
Royalists and Puritans now realised that the conflict was to be a more serious and prolonged affair than had at first seemed likely, and more energetic preparations were made during the winter of 1643–4 for its renewal in the following spring. A parliamentary leader, Oliver Cromwell, surveyed the position, and came to the conclusion that, as things were, the King was likely to win, because of the superior quality of his troops. They consisted of gentlemen, men of honour, who would fight to the uttermost, who would die rather than admit defeat. The parliamentary armies were filled with men of inferior quality, with no backbone, men who could not be relied on. Cromwell held that it was necessary to form an army of men of spirit equal to that of the Cavaliers. He determined to raise a body of cavalry consisting of men of religion, sturdy Puritans, who would fight as long and as sternly for their faith as their opponents would for their King. He established the Ironsides, a body of Puritan cavalry, which recruited only men of sterling character. The sternest training and discipline were introduced, and the ordinary occupations of a camp, dicing, drinking, swearing, and roystering, were forbidden. "They are a lovely lot," wrote Cromwell. "Not a man swears but he pays his twelve pence."

The parliamentary leaders had for some time been negotiating with the Presbyterian Scots for their help in the conflict. The Scots had so far been mere onlookers at the fight, though their sympathies were, for religious reasons, against the King. But they would not go so far as to fight against him unless his

enemies would undertake to make the Church of England like that of Scotland, by abolishing bishops and establishing Presbyterianism. Though the King's opponents were Puritan, they were not all prepared to do this, but they would not get Scottish help unless they overcame their reluctance. Accordingly, in December, 1643, the Solemn League and Covenant was agreed upon between the Scots and the Parliament. England was to become Presbyterian, and a Scottish army of twenty thousand men was to take the field against the King, and its cost was to be paid by the English.

The King had negotiated with the Irish during the winter. Much fighting, mentioned in another chapter, had occurred among them since 1641, and Charles obtained the promise of an army of ten thousand men. His new allies were of little use to him, for they were defeated and captured early in 1644, and some of them enlisted in the parliamentary army. But the greatest events of the year occurred in Yorkshire, where Fairfax, Cromwell, and the Scots besieged Newcastle in York. On the advance of Rupert the siege was raised, and he was able to join forces with Newcastle. Puritans and Cavaliers met at the Battle of Marston Moor, where the value of the new parliamentary arrangements became evident. The Scots rendered good service, but the honours of the day were carried off by the Ironsides, under Cromwell. Rupert's army was scattered, and York and the north of England were lost. Only in the west and south-west did the King hold his ground during the year.

Archbishop Laud, who had been a prisoner in the Tower since the meeting of Parliament in 1640, was beheaded for "treason" early in 1645. He had been formally impeached, but was now condemned by attainder. No possible excuse can be offered for the action of his enemies in putting him to death. He has been regarded as a martyr for the Church of England.

During the winter the Cromwellian system of recruiting men of religion was applied to the whole parliamentary army, known henceforth as the New Model Army, of which the Ironsides became the cavalry branch. Moreover, it had for some time been felt that the success of the parliamentary armies had been lessened by incompetent leadership. Early in 1645 Parliament passed a Self-Denying Ordinance, by which members of either House of Parliament had to give up

PLACES OF IMPORTANCE IN THE GREAT REBELLION

their military commands. Fairfax was appointed General of the New Model Army, with Cromwell as his second-in-command, although the latter was a member of the House of Commons.

The campaign of 1645 was decisive. Although fighting took place in various parts of the country, the one great battle of the year was fought at Naseby. The New Model did its work well. Charles was utterly defeated and left even his baggage in his opponents' hands. The issue of the war was decided. The King tried to march to Scotland, but a further defeat prevented this. In the following year all remaining places, including Oxford, surrendered to the parliamentary forces. The war was over. The King might fall into the hands of the Puritans at any time. He anticipated capture by riding into the Scottish camp at Newark.

The entry of the Scots into England in 1644 had stimulated the Royalist party in Scotland to rise under Montrose against the Presbyterian nobles who had really ruled the country since the King's visit in 1641. For some time Montrose met with success, and Charles, after his defeat at Naseby in 1645, thought of joining his faithful follower in Scotland. Montrose was, however, defeated at Philiphaugh in 1645, so that even this resource was lost to the King.

The Royalist failure was due to several circumstances. In the beginning both sides suffered from indifferent leadership. It is not remarkable that a country which possessed no standing army and consequently no professional generals, and which had had no important war for a long time, should not produce good leaders at once. On the Royalist side the Earl of Newcastle, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Prince Rupert proved to be second-rate commanders. Rupert was the King's nephew, the son of the unlucky Elector Palatine. On more than one occasion he drove a section of enemy forces from the field by the vigour of his cavalry charge. He pursued and returned, to find the battle lost in his absence. The King was his own commander-in-chief, and failed to realise and grasp at his one real chance of success in 1642. On the parliamentary side the Earls of Essex and Manchester and Sir William Waller, the leaders of the early part of the war, were ultimately replaced by Fairfax and Cromwell, through whose vigour and genius victory was achieved.

Early in the war part of the navy seceded to the parliamentary

side. It was able to keep the lower Thames open and the trade of London went on without interruption. A loyal navy might have blockaded London, and as this was the parliamentary headquarters such an event might have brought about a different ending to the struggle.

Outside assistance was rendered to both sides. The King secured the help of Irish troops for a time, and negotiated with France, but no material advantage followed. On the other hand the Scottish army was a very serious factor in favour of Parliament.

At the beginning the spirit and quality of the Cavaliers made them superior to their opponents, but the formation of the New Model Army more than counterbalanced this, and it cannot be doubted that the King's final defeat was due to the efficiency of this remarkable body of men.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE CAPTIVITY AND DEATH OF CHARLES I

NOBODY in 1646, least of all King Charles, thought that his defeat involved the loss of his throne. He was still the King, and assumed that with the restoration of order he would rule once more, not, indeed, as an absolute monarch, but on such terms as the victors would offer him. He knew, moreover, that his enemies were not really united, that between Scots and English there was very little sympathy, and that there were divisions of opinion within the English Parliament. He thought that it might be possible, by playing off one section against another, to obtain very good terms.

In deciding to surrender to the Scottish army instead of to the New Model, Charles was making the first move in this new game. He rode into the Scottish camp at Newark not as an enemy come to surrender himself but as King. He hoped that the Scots would restore him to the throne. He was a Scot, born in Scotland, the descendant of a line of Scottish kings. Surely a Scottish army would not hand a Scottish King over to their traditional enemies, the English! This appeal to racial enmity was not so successful as he hoped it might be. Parliament and the Scots agreed in demanding of him that he should abolish bishops, establish Presbyterianism, and take the Covenant. Charles, however, was a convinced Churchman, and thought that by waiting he would get better terms from the English Puritans. Upon his refusal the Scots gave him up to parliamentary commissioners, receiving in return their arrears of pay under the Solemn League and Covenant, amounting to £400,000. They thereupon returned home, while the King was lodged at Holmby House, in Northamptonshire.

Dissensions now appeared in the victorious Parliament. All the remaining members were Puritan, but of these the majority were Presbyterian and a smaller number were Independent. The chief difference between the two groups was

that the Presbyterians hoped to set up a Presbyterian church in England by removing the bishops, as had been done in Scotland, without tolerating any other sect, even of Puritans, while the Independents, who also were against a church ruled by bishops, were willing to extend toleration to any group of Puritans, whether Independent, Anabaptist, or Presbyterian. Cromwell and Fairfax were Independents, and they had recruited the New Model Army on an Independent basis.

Now that the war was over the Presbyterian Parliament wanted to disband the Independent army. It was resolved to give the men one-sixth of their arrears of pay and to dismiss them to their homes. The soldiers, however, were little likely to be satisfied with such a settlement, especially as their comrades-in-arms, the Scots, had received their full pay. But the Scots with the King in their possession had been in a position to bargain. If their request for a full settlement had been ignored they might have put the King on the throne again. The army felt that it would be in a better position to enforce its demands if it had control of the King's person. Cornet Joyce, with a body of Ironsides, rode to Holmby House, took charge of the King, and removed him to Newmarket, whence, shortly afterwards, he was transferred to Hampton Court. Parliament was dismayed, and some of the Presbyterian members, in fear of the army, even fled to the continent.

An Army Council had been formed, and this body now offered to the King terms, known as the Heads of the Proposals, on which it was willing to restore him to the throne. Charles was by no means displeased with the way things were moving. The more his enemies fell out the better the terms he would obtain. The Heads of the Proposals were very reasonable terms, better far than were the Nineteen Propositions which had been offered him before the rebellion began. Thinking that still better conditions might be obtained if he allowed the quarrel between army and Parliament to develop a little farther, Charles held out. This was a great mistake. He failed to understand the character of the men with whom he had to deal. They had made him a fair offer and were not likely to improve on it, or even to renew it.

He made a further blunder. Thinking that he would be in a better position to negotiate if he were free, and believing that Colonel Hammond, the Governor of Carisbrooke Castle, would

befriend him, he left Hampton Court, where he had not been in close captivity, and went to Carisbrooke. Hammond, however, would not support him, and by his move the King had merely exchanged one prison for another, in addition to arousing the suspicion of the soldiers that he was not to be trusted.

From Carisbrooke he entered into negotiations with the Scots once more, offering them a limited recognition of Presbyterianism. On this basis a treaty called the Engagement was drawn up. A Royalist rising against the Puritans was to break out in England, and a Scottish army pledged to restore the King was to march south. In return, Charles undertook to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years. No doubt he thought that in three years' time he would be able to restore the bishops, while the Scots thought that if England once received the blessings of Presbyterianism the bishops would be gone for ever.

The Second Civil War began and ended in 1648. The Royalists rose in Kent, but were defeated by Fairfax at Maidstone. They retreated into Essex and seized Colchester, which had been on the side of Parliament hitherto. Fairfax followed them and besieged them in Colchester, which after an obstinate resistance fell into his hands. The rising in the south-east was over. Meanwhile, the Scots invaded England for the third time in eight years, but were met by Cromwell in Lancashire. He defeated them at Preston, at Wigan, and at Warrington, and drove them in disorder into their own country. The Second Civil War was over.

The New Model had done its work swiftly and completely, but the men were bitter. Many of their comrades had died in the recent fighting, and their thoughts turned towards the man who had brought about this renewed bloodshed. They had offered him fair terms for the recovery of his position. He had chosen to reject them and to stir up strife, and they felt that, King though he was, he must be made to suffer for his misdeed. There was no idea of punishing him for his resistance to them in the first war. But they regarded the second war as unnecessary, and the man who had caused it was to them a man of blood.

But if the King was to be brought to trial it must be by authority of Parliament, and it was certain that the Presbyterian majority in Parliament would not condemn him for trying

to establish Presbyterianism in England. The soldiers, therefore, determined to expel the Presbyterian majority, and one day in December, 1648, Colonel Pride with his regiment took up his position at the entrance to the House of Commons. As members arrived the Independents were permitted to enter, but the Presbyterians were turned aside into a room until a large number were assembled. Pride ordered them to go and not return, and in fear of the soldiers they obeyed.

The much-reduced Parliament, which was now a mere fragment of the Long Parliament which met in 1640, appointed a High Court of Justice to try the King. One hundred and thirty persons were named to serve as judges, under the presidency of a lawyer, John Bradshaw. The King, who a short while earlier had been removed from Carisbrooke Castle to Hurst Castle on the Solent, where he had for the first time been kept in strict confinement, was brought to London. The court met in Westminster Hall, and he was brought before it. He at once denied the right of his judges to try him, on the ground that they had not been appointed by a Parliament, but by a mere fragment of Parliament. The objection being overruled, the King took no further part in the proceedings, lest by defending himself he should be thought to admit the right of the court to try him. Only one end was possible. It is difficult to believe that his enemies intended to give him a fair trial, with a possibility of acquittal. He was sentenced to be beheaded on 30th January, 1649, outside his palace of Whitehall.

The Queen and the Prince of Wales were abroad, and made such efforts as were possible to save the King's life. The Prince sent to the Parliament a sheet of paper containing only his signature, so that on it could be written absolutely any terms on which his father's life might be spared. But nothing could move the iron resolution of the soldiers. Before his death Charles took an affecting leave of his two youngest children, the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Henrietta. He reminded the Duke, a child of eight years, of the sacredness of hereditary succession. "They will try to make thee King. But mark, child, what I do say. Mark well what I do say. Thou must not be King while thy brothers Charles and James do live." The boy promised, to his father's great satisfaction.

Charles passed to his death with courage and dignity. On the morning of the execution an enormous crowd assembled,

but a sufficient force of troops prevented all thought of rescue. The King was accompanied by his friend, Juxon, Bishop of London, on his walk to the scaffold. He made a brief speech to the people, and after a few minutes spent in prayer he was beheaded.

By his followers Charles was regarded as a martyr, and this view is maintained by many people to-day. They contend that he died for his faith, and that if he had been willing to sacrifice the Church of England by yielding to Puritan demands he might have saved his life and crown. While this may be true of the early days of his captivity it cannot be forgotten that by the Engagement with the Scots he did agree to sacrifice the Church of England and to establish Presbyterianism. But the attempt failed, and it is impossible to hold that Charles was a martyr to his loyalty to the Church.

It would be useless to discuss the justice of the sentence. Opinions are still sharply divided upon this, and they depend upon the view taken of Charles's acts during his reign. But there cannot be any doubt as to the unwisdom of the course taken by the Puritans. The King's death turned public opinion decisively against them and in favour of the royal cause. It did not even deprive the Royalists of their leader, for they naturally regarded the Prince of Wales, who was at liberty and abroad, as King Charles II. England was to be a Puritan republic for the next eleven years, but it always rested on the support of the army, never on that of public opinion, and at the first opportunity the monarchy was restored. From the day of the King's execution the rule of the Puritans was doomed to failure.

CHAPTER XXXIII

OPPOSITION TO THE COMMONWEALTH

THE struggle between Crown and Parliament which had been developing since the beginning of the Stuart period had culminated in the defeat of the Crown and the bringing of the King to the scaffold. But in achieving its victory Parliament itself had very nearly been destroyed. The small group of men which still called itself Parliament hardly deserved the title. A full Parliament consists of King, Lords, and Commons. The King was no more, and the Lords had ceased to meet. Of the Commons, the Royalist members had left in 1642 and the Presbyterians had been expelled in 1648. Only a little group of between fifty and sixty Independent members was left. This, though people contemptuously called it the Rump, continued to meet, and for a time it controlled the Government. Meeting shortly after the death of Charles I, it formally abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords, declared England to be a Commonwealth and a Free State, and appointed a Council of State of forty-one members. As many of these were members of the Rump, it is evident that the Council of State was merely the Rump under another name.

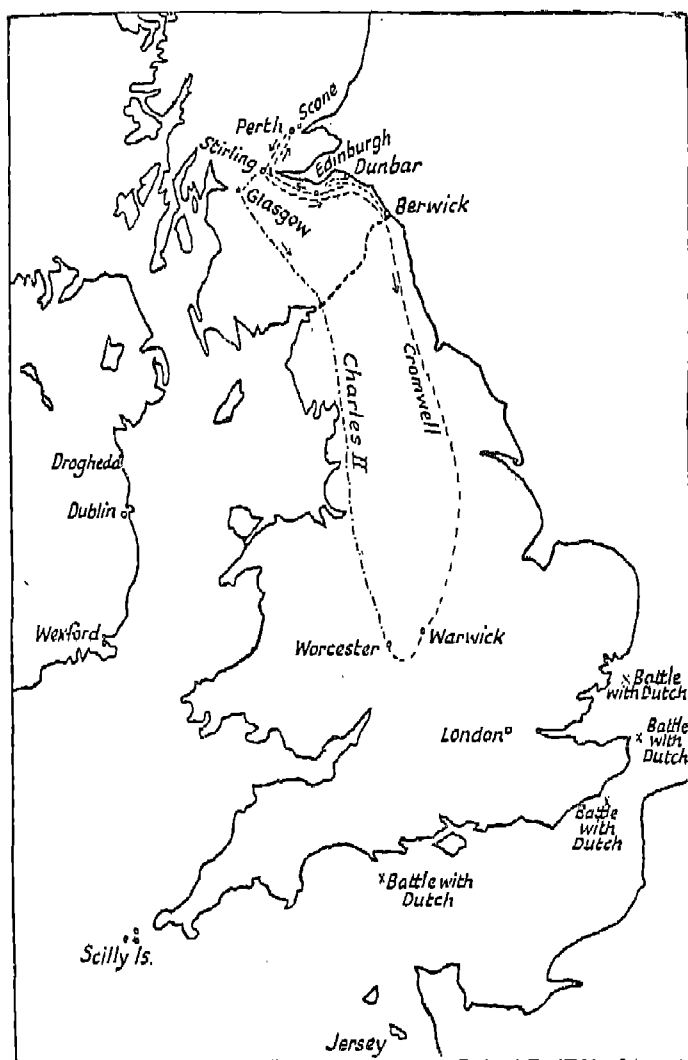
These arrangements were not regarded by anybody as final. The leading Puritan members themselves hoped to establish a Puritan republic similar to that of the Dutch. The army, too, was not satisfied with this as the permanent form of government of the country, and might at any time remove it and establish something else. But for the time being the army had other work to do.

The infant Commonwealth had no friends. Ireland was in revolt, Scotland prepared to recognise Charles II as its King, while Royalists in England were merely awaiting an opportunity to rise. Abroad, Prince Rupert with the remnant of the Royalist navy harried British shipping until his squadron was destroyed by the Puritan admiral, Blake. No foreign power would recognise the Commonwealth, and there was a chance that

more than one foreign country would fight it. Against this array of enemies stood the army, within whose ranks disaffection was appearing.

A Puritan group known as the Levellers, who believed that all men should be "Level" or equal, revolted against the army leaders. An army is not the place for such opinions. If all men were equal, ranks in the army would be abolished, and discipline would cease. But it is discipline which distinguishes an army from a mob. Cromwell saw this clearly. Three regiments mutinied, and Cromwell with loyal troops marched to their camp at Bulford. He surprised them and forced them to surrender. A few men were shot, the rest were pardoned, and the mutiny was over. Cromwell had not merely overcome the mutineers, but he had disproved their doctrine that all men were equal by asserting his mastery over them.

Events in Ireland now called for his attention. A Royalist army had been raised by James Butler, Marquis of Ormond, who had placed garrisons in the Irish east coast towns. Cromwell determined to cross to Ireland with a section of the army. But he had no money and no transports. Money, however, was borrowed in the City of London, and the lenders were promised compensation out of conquered Irish lands. It seemed a mere gamble, and for some time it was doubtful if the expedition would set out at all. It did so, however, and Cromwell landed near Drogheda. He summoned the town to surrender. It refused, and he took it by storm and put the garrison to the sword. He repeated this terrible achievement at Wexford. Some further fighting occurred; other towns surrendered, and the rising was crushed. Many prisoners were sold into slavery in the West Indies. The lands of the Royalists were confiscated, some being given to the creditors of the Government in London and some to veteran Puritan soldiers who settled in Ireland and formed a permanent English garrison there. Cromwell returned to London, leaving his son-in-law, Ireton, in Ireland as its Governor.

Meanwhile, trouble was brewing in Scotland. The Presbyterian Scots had fought against Charles I in the Great Rebellion, but as the result of the Engagement they had come over to his side in the Second Civil War, and were now to be reckoned as enemies of the English Puritans who had so recently defeated them. They would certainly recognise Charles II as King if he would honour his father's Engagement and become a

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Presbyterian. But there was also a definitely Royalist party in Scotland, which had fought under Montrose for the late King, and they, too, looked upon Charles II as their King, and were prepared to recognise him without conditions. Charles, therefore, had good prospect of obtaining at least his northern crown, since both the opposing parties wished to recognise him.

Barely twenty years of age, Charles II was far abler than his father, and far less scrupulous. He preferred to owe his crown to the Royalists rather than to the Presbyterians, and before committing himself to the latter he awaited the result of a rising led by Montrose against Argyll's Presbyterian Government. The rising failed, and Montrose was captured and put to death in brutal manner. The affair endangered Charles's prospects, for, if the Presbyterians felt that Montrose had been commissioned by the young King to rise against them, they would have nothing more to do with him. But Charles declared, truly or not, that Montrose had acted without his knowledge or permission. He accepted the Covenant, was acclaimed King by the Scots, and was crowned at Scone.

The Puritans in England could not possibly allow such a settlement to remain in Scotland, for Charles would merely await an opportunity of attacking them. Sooner or later, when England was engaged in a continental war, Charles would march south with a Scottish army and would try to recover his southern kingdom. His presence in Scotland was a standing danger to the Commonwealth, and war with the Scots was necessary. Fairfax, however, refused to attack the Scots, who had in time past been brothers in arms to the English Puritans, and resigned his command, which devolved upon Cromwell. Marching into Scotland, Cromwell met a Scottish army under Leslie at Dunbar. The Scots occupied a strong position on the heights, with Cromwell's troops between them and the sea. The English army was short of supplies, and appeared to have the choice between starving and attacking uphill. To their amazement and delight the Scots abandoned their strong position and came down to level ground, where they were utterly defeated by the New Model. Cromwell marched north to meet Charles, but the King hoped to recover everything by a bold stroke. He eluded Cromwell and marched into England by the western route. He expected that thousands of Englishmen would flock to his standard and that in the absence of a large part of the New Model Army

he would recover his throne. But the English held back, and Cromwell hastened by the eastern route to overtake him. They met at Worcester, where the Scots were again completely beaten. The King became a fugitive and after various adventures escaped to France. The Presbyterian Government of Argyll in Scotland was overthrown. Scotland was joined to England, becoming part of the Commonwealth, and Monk, a general of the New Model Army, was made its Governor. The Scots bitterly hated this connection, but during the nine years of its duration they prospered exceedingly by being allowed to trade freely with England and English colonies, and they were permitted full liberty to follow the Presbyterian religion.

In less than three years from the death of Charles I the British Isles had been completely subjugated by the Puritan army. But enemies remained abroad. Possibly the Commonwealth would not have been left unattacked so long as this had not the leading European powers been fighting among themselves. The Thirty Years War had ended in 1648, leaving the countries concerned terribly exhausted, but France and Spain continued their war until 1659. France, moreover, was for some years prevented from doing much by a series of internal disturbances known as the Fronde. The one power that was in a position to attack the Commonwealth was Holland. The Dutch were Puritan, and it might be thought that they would be more likely to support than to oppose the Puritans in England. This, however, was not the case. Their commercial rivalry outweighed their religious sympathy.

The Dutch had fought for their independence against Spain from 1572 and 1609, and they had received much help from England in various ways. But during the seventeenth century they became bitterly opposed to the English in connection with the Eastern trade. Both countries had established East India Companies, and the Dutch Company did its best to eject the English Company from the Indian Ocean. An English settlement at Amboyna, in the Spice Islands, was captured by the Dutch in 1623, and several English merchants were murdered by the victors, who inflicted horrible tortures on some of them. The news of this outrage caused great indignation in England. James I, however, was hoping for Dutch support for the Elector Palatine, and did nothing against the republic. Charles I had neither opportunity nor inclination

to avenge the outrage, which in the time of the Commonwealth still remained unrequited, though by no means forgotten.

Dutch shipping in the seventeenth century was to be found in every part of the world, and much freight was carried in Dutch vessels for other countries. To the Puritans this seemed to be a great danger to this country, and in 1651 the Rump passed a Navigation Act for the encouragement of English shipping. It provided that goods coming from Asia, Africa, or America to England were to be carried in English ships only, and that goods from a European country were to come either in English ships or in those of the country which exported the goods. The Act was evidently intended to strike a blow at Dutch commercial prosperity; it succeeded in arousing Dutch indignation.

Other matters helped to bring on war between the two countries. Holland was nominally a republic, but its "president" was called a Stadtholder, and this position was hereditary in the House of Orange. Really, therefore, Holland was a monarchy, although the title of King was not used. The Stadtholderate was abolished at the death of William II in 1650, but the wealthy burghers who formed the new Government of Holland were as much opposed to England as the Stadtholder had been. The Stadtholder William II had married Charles I's daughter Mary, and Charles II for a time went to live in his brother-in-law's dominions, a circumstance none too pleasing to English Puritans. But the climax was reached with the murder at The Hague of Dr. Dorislaus, the Commonwealth ambassador to Holland.

War broke out in 1652. It consisted entirely of naval engagements in the narrow seas. A Somersetshire squire named Blake, who had been a colonel in the New Model Army, commanded the English fleet, and proved that the Puritan qualities of determination and strength were as effective on sea as on land. Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, was a good seaman and a worthy fighter, and in a series of battles the broom and the whip opposed each other. But in the last fight, off the Texel, Van Tromp was slain, and the Dutch were glad to make peace. By the Treaty of Westminster, 1654, the Dutch recognised the Navigation Act and agreed to pay compensation to the relatives of the men slain at Amboyna.

The Commonwealth at last enjoyed peace. It had subdued

its enemies everywhere, by land and by sea. Despite its bloody origin it had some claim to English respect in that it had avenged a wrong of thirty years' standing, which Stuart Kings could not, or would not, do. And the rulers of Europe were made aware of the existence of a new power with which it would be better to be friendly than otherwise.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE ORGANISATION OF PURITAN RULE

As was stated in the last chapter, the Rump, which with the army had brought about the trial and death of Charles I, continued to act as the Parliament of the Commonwealth for the next four years, while the actual government was entrusted to a Council of State. The monarchy and the House of Lords no longer existed. This, however, was only a temporary arrangement, satisfactory to the members of the Rump, but not to the soldiers. While the latter were engaged in overcoming the enemies of the Commonwealth they had no time to consider the organisation of its government, but as time passed and it became increasingly evident that no power at home or abroad could stand against the New Model, the problem of settling the constitution came to the front.

Members of the Rump desired no change, but as they knew that the existing state of affairs did not satisfy the army they thought it advisable in their own interests to propose a change. They drew up a "Reform Bill," by which a new Parliament was to be elected. All the existing members would be entitled to sit in the new Parliament without offering themselves to their constituencies for re-election, and they would form a committee to consider the fitness or otherwise of the newly-elected members to take their seats. Thus, if the country should return a number of Royalists, or even of Presbyterians, the existing Rump would declare their election void, for the only people who in their eyes would be fit to sit would be Independents like themselves. If this "reform" should be carried out, the resulting Parliament would be merely an enlarged Rump. The existing group must have had little confidence that the country approved their proceedings. If, however, they hoped to hoodwink the army by such a pretence of reform they were to be undeceived.

Cromwell, who was a member of the Rump, was against these proposals, and an understanding was reached that the

matter should be suspended. In his absence, however, discussion was continued, and, hearing of this, he went to the House with a body of troops. Leaving the men outside he entered and took his seat. Presently he rose, and rebuked the members for their deceitfulness in continuing the debate after they had agreed not to do so. He stamped his foot and the soldiers entered the House. Raising his voice he ordered the members to depart, which, in view of the presence of armed men, they were compelled to do. The House was cleared, the mace was removed from the table, and Cromwell locked the door and put the key in his pocket. So the Rump came to an end. The next day the Council of State was dissolved, and no regular form of government existed any longer in the country.

With the disappearance of all organised government the rule of the country and the maintenance of order devolved upon the strongest power in the land. This was the army, and Cromwell, as its General, necessarily undertook the work of government. He had no right to do so, yet was compelled to it, since nobody else could do it. But he did not wish to rule as a military despot for a day longer than was necessary. He had expelled the Rump merely as a necessary preliminary to the establishment of a more satisfactory form of government. Meanwhile, his power rested only on the army. The soldiers were true to him and supported him, but he did not wish to strain their loyalty by refusing to set up a proper form of government.

Opinion was divided among the Puritans as to what the new form of government should be. Some strange and fanatical sects existed, and among them was a group known as the Fifth Monarchy Men. They held that the history of the world had passed, in the main, under four great monarchies, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman. After the passing away of the fourth monarchy a fifth was to be established. This fifth monarchy was to be the kingdom of Christ upon earth, ruled by Christ himself, who was to appear in person. Until his actual advent, which could not be long delayed, government must be carried on in his name by his saints. To the Puritan it seemed that recent events indicated the passing of the fourth monarchy. That form of government had ceased in England, it seemed to be in danger from the Fronde in France, while the Holy Roman Empire had been

settled in its final form in 1648 by the Peace of Westphalia, by which the princes of the Empire became fully independent, and the Emperor's authority over them practically ended.

The idea of the rule of the saints did not meet with entire Puritan approval, but Cromwell was attracted by it, and proceeded to act upon it. He ordered that in all parts of the country Puritan ministers should prepare lists of "godly men" and forward them to him. From these lists he selected one hundred and forty men, and directed them to appear at Westminster. The assembly so formed has been called, derisively, the Little Parliament, or the Barebones Parliament. (One of its members was named Praise-God Barebones.) But it does not seem that Cromwell regarded it as a Parliament at all. He looked upon it as a council of godly men to whom was to be entrusted the duty of drawing up a constitution for the country.

If the Little Parliament appeared ridiculous in its composition it seemed no less so in some of its actions. To attempt to incorporate parts of the Mosaic law, which was drawn up for an Eastern people in a different stage of civilisation, living under different geographical and climatic conditions, into the law of England was absurd. But its appointment of a committee, of which no member was a lawyer, to simplify the laws of England, seemed absurd only to lawyers. If laws were sufficiently simplified, the lawyer's occupation would be gone. And its proposal to establish county courts for the settlement of less important actions at law was so far from being absurd that it was carried into effect two centuries later. But Cromwell watched the assembly with growing disappointment. Its work was to form a constitution, and it was doing nothing towards that end. He persuaded a group of its members to meet early one morning, and, in the name of the whole body, to resign their authority into his hands, whereupon he dismissed them.

The failure of this council of "godly men" to produce a constitution compelled Cromwell to look in another direction, and he turned to a council of practical men, consisting of officers of the army. They were more successful in their efforts, and drew up a document of great interest, known as the Instrument of Government, in which was set out the constitution under which the country was to be ruled for the next few years. It provided that:

(1) The Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland was to become a Protectorate, ruled by a Lord Protector.

(2) Oliver Cromwell was to be the first Lord Protector.

(3) The Protector was to be assisted by a Council of State of fifteen members.

(4) A Parliament of 460 members, of whom 400 were to represent England, 30 Scotland, and 30 Ireland, was to meet. (A list of constituencies was drawn up.) No greater interval than three years was to elapse without a meeting of Parliament, and, once assembled, it was not to be dissolved by the Protector in less than five months.

(5) Every person who possessed property worth £200 was to have a vote in the elections of members, unless he was a Papist or a Malignant. (A Malignant was a person who had fought for the King in the late wars.) Malignants were to be debarred from voting for the first nine years.

(6) Parliament alone was to make laws and to levy taxes, but it was not to make any law which was contrary to the Instrument.

(7) The Protector was not to have a veto over Acts of Parliament.

(8) Parliament was to grant the Protector a revenue for the carrying on of the government.

(9) The Protector might issue ordinances which would have the force of law, unless they were disallowed by Parliament when it met.

(10) Freedom of religion was granted to all except Papists and Prelatists (i.e. Churchmen).

It may be noticed that, in general, the Instrument provided a form of government not unlike the monarchy, with a Lord Protector in place of the King. The Lord Protector was to rule the country, but he could not continue to govern for a lengthy period of time without calling a Parliament, and he could not comply with the law merely by calling it and dissolving it forthwith. In some respects the new constitution marked a definite advance on the old system, since the electorate was revised, and parliamentary seats were redistributed. The union of the whole of the British Isles which was effected by the Instrument did not come to pass under the restored monarchy until the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the freedom of religion which was proclaimed was such only

in name. If Papists and Prelatists were to be excluded from it, only Puritans would remain, and, in fact, the only toleration granted to Christians during the Protectorate was to the Puritans. It is interesting to observe, however, that Jews were permitted to settle in the country under this arrangement. Jews had been expelled from England in 1290 by Edward I, and after three centuries and a half they were now readmitted.

The Instrument was by no means perfect, and some serious criticisms must be noticed. The Protector was to be Oliver Cromwell, who was to hold office for life. There was no provision for removing him if he should rule tyrannically or in any other way prove to be unworthy of the position. No doubt the Army Council had the utmost confidence in Cromwell, and perhaps the very possibility that he might rule badly did not occur to them. But, if the Instrument was to give England a permanent form of government, other Protectors would succeed Cromwell, and it was impossible to say that no one of them would ever prove unworthy. The same remark applies to members of the Council of State, who also were appointed for life and were irremovable.

But the most serious criticism of the Instrument of Government is that the principle for which the struggle between King and Parliament had been undertaken was left unsettled. King and Parliament had been fighting for supremacy. It was by no means clear in the Instrument who was supreme. Was the Parliament? No, for it could not alter the Instrument. But who should decide if a particular Act of Parliament was contrary to the Instrument? Not the Protector, for he could not veto Acts of Parliament. If the Instrument should last, at no distant date the struggle for supremacy would break out again. There were signs of the beginning of such a struggle in the short Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL

OLIVER CROMWELL entered upon his new duties at once, and he remained Lord Protector for the rest of his life. He had been the ruler of the country since he expelled the Rump, and the effect of the Instrument was to give legal form to his position.

He turned his attention at once to the settlement of the religious question. The Prelatists, to whom religious freedom was denied by the Instrument, were the clergy of the Church of England. They were forbidden to use the Book of Common Prayer, and if they complied with this order they were permitted to remain in their livings. But all Church clergy at their institution promised to use the services in the Prayer Book, and it must have been the least conscientious of them who submitted. The majority refused, and some thousands were expelled, though the work of removing them took some time. The vacancies were filled with Puritan ministers, Presbyterian, Independent, and Anabaptist. The mass of the English people, however, had no great liking for Puritan ways, and it is probable that the Prayer Book was used a good deal in private. The feasts of the Church were no longer celebrated. Even Christmas was passed over without festivities. Puritan influence was felt in other directions. Theatres were closed (a Puritan of the time of Charles I had described them as "devil's chapels"), such amusements as cock-fighting and horse-racing were forbidden, and even singing, other than the singing of psalms, was frowned upon, while old English customs, such as the May-day celebrations, were suppressed.

The first Protectorate Parliament met on 3rd September, 1654. Throughout its existence it was not on cordial terms with the Protector. It attempted to limit his authority, and he resented such efforts as being contrary to the Instrument.

He dissolved the Parliament on 21st January, 1655, when it had lasted exactly twenty weeks. Probably the framers of the Instrument intended that Parliament should last five calendar months, but Cromwell interpreted the phrase as meaning lunar months. Perhaps, in dissolving Parliament, he for the first time began to see things from the standpoint of Charles I.

The fact that a Royalist plot against the Protector's life was discovered in 1655 proved that a section, probably a large section, of the nation disliked his rule. It served to remind him that the real basis of his power was not a mere document, the Instrument of Government, but the army at his back. He did not hesitate, therefore, to use the army effectively for the purpose of keeping order and suppressing plots. He divided the country into ten districts and placed each under the command of a major-general, who had a cavalry force at his disposal. This body of men acted as a kind of mounted police. It prevented the holding of meetings without permission and in various ways kept in touch with persons who were suspected of disloyalty. By such means Cromwell maintained a firm hold over the country, and the discontented Royalists dared not make a move against him.

As already stated, France and Spain fought on opposite sides in the latter part of the Thirty Years War, and they did not cease hostilities when the Peace of Westphalia was made. The war between them dragged on, seemingly interminable. Both sides by this time realised that England with its formidable Puritan army would be an exceedingly useful ally, and both began to treat for an alliance. Cromwell had to consider whether he would support France, a Roman Catholic country, ruled at this time by a Roman Catholic Cardinal, Mazarin, or Spain, the champion of the Roman Catholic Church throughout Europe. It would be little to the taste of the soldiers to support a popish country even against another popish country. At length to the Spanish ambassador he suggested terms on which the assistance of the New Model Army might be given against France. The cost of the war was to be borne by Spain. Calais was to be captured and given to the English. Direct trade was to be permitted between English ports and Spanish colonies in Central and South America. And Englishmen in Spanish dominions were to be free from the authority of the Spanish Inquisition. Such terms could not possibly be granted, and Cromwell knew this when he proposed them.

The Spanish ambassador replied, "You might as well ask for my master's two eyes." Yet it is difficult to see in what way the suggested terms were unreasonable. Surely not in the demand that Spain should pay for the help she wanted, and that she should hand over Calais out of the spoils of war! Further, Englishmen had always tried to trade with Spanish colonies since the time of John Hawkins, and had never recognised the moral right of Spain to monopolise New World trade. And, lastly, if Englishmen were to fight and to die for Spain, they might reasonably expect to be freed from the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition! Yet, on the other hand, Spain could hardly be expected to destroy her colonial and religious systems even in order to gain the coveted alliance. The whole negotiation shows the utter impossibility of arranging friendship between two powers so entirely opposed to each other in every way.

Cromwell turned to France. From her he demanded that, as the price of an alliance, she should bear the cost of the war, that Dunkirk, in the Spanish Netherlands, should be captured and given to England, and that the persecution of the Vaudois by the Duke of Savoy should cease. Savoy was not in France, but was close to it. The Vaudois were Protestant mountaineers who were being cruelly harried by the Duke. Their sufferings have been commemorated for all time by the Puritan poet, John Milton, in the sonnet which begins:

> Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.

Cromwell assumed, and with truth, that France could, if she would, exert pressure upon the Duke to stop the persecution. She did so, the persecution ceased, and the alliance was made.

Cromwell has been blamed for choosing to support France rather than Spain. The latter power was exhausted after more than eighty years of almost uninterrupted warfare, and was rapidly sinking to the rank of a third-rate power. France, on the other hand, was increasing in strength, and under Louis XIV was to become a serious menace to the whole of western Europe. Long and costly wars were, in fact, carried on under William III and Anne in order to break down the swollen power of the French King, and it is contended by Cromwell's critics that he helped to build up this great power.

But he could hardly have chosen otherwise. For nearly a century Spain and England had been opposed to each other on the religious question, Spain supporting Rome and England the Reformation. And it was the religious question which appealed to Cromwell, and not only to Cromwell but to the army also. It must not be forgotten that Cromwell's power would not have lasted a week had the army turned against him, which it certainly would have done if he had allied with Spain.

For some time the fighting was only at sea. A fleet under Penn and Venables sailed to the West Indies in 1655 and captured Jamaica, which remains to-day the most important British possession in that part of the world. Under Blake, Spanish treasure ships were captured, and a Spanish fleet was destroyed at Santa Cruz. Such achievements reminded men of the great days of Elizabeth.

In 1658 a brigade of six thousand men crossed over to France and joined the French army under Marshal Turenne. At the Battle of the Dunes the New Model carried all before it, proving its ability to overcome the veterans of Spain as surely as it had formerly scattered the levies of Scotland and Ireland. Dunkirk was captured and handed over to the English. These events proved to be decisive, and Spain negotiated with France for peace, which was concluded in 1659 by the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

These operations had involved a good deal of expenditure, and Cromwell had found it necessary to raise money, which he had done without parliamentary consent. He did not dare to do so indefinitely, however, and he called a new Parliament to meet in 1656. This second Parliament of the Protectorate contained a substantial element opposed to Cromwell, and the Protector exercised a right given him in the Instrument, by expelling more than a hundred members. The remainder, consisting only of his supporters, was conciliated by the abolition of the military government of the country by major-generals, and devoted its time to the drawing up of a new constitution known as the Humble Petition and Advice. It was in the form of an amendment to the Instrument of Government, which, though it could not be altered by Parliament alone, presumably could be amended by Protector and Parliament in agreement. The Humble Petition and Advice suggested that in future Parliament should consist of two Houses, the

House of Commons and the Other House, and that Cromwell should take the title of King. If the idea had been carried out, the old constitution would have been restored completely, with the House of Cromwell in place of the House of Stuart. The Protector considered the matter, but he never forgot that his power rested on the army, and he feared that the soldiers would not tolerate his assumption of the royal title. King Oliver's reign would be short. He put the idea aside, and the Humble Petition was amended so as to leave Cromwell Protector, but with the right of naming his successor. In this form it was adopted.

When Parliament met again, in 1658, two Houses met. The Other House had been filled with members appointed by the Protector. He had hoped to secure the presence of some of the nobles of the old House of Lords, but almost without exception they disregarded his invitation, and he filled the new chamber with Puritan appointments. The House of Commons, too, was at full strength, those who had been expelled in 1656 being permitted to return. Cromwell's opponents were now in a majority in the House of Commons, and they criticised not only the Protector, but also the newly-established Other House. In despair Cromwell dissolved Parliament, saying, as he did so, "The Lord judge between thee and me."

The great Protector's last days were filled with gloom. In constant peril of assassination, he never appeared in public without wearing armour. He was conscious that his rule was distasteful to the mass of Englishmen, and that even a considerable group within the Puritan party was opposed to him. While, with the support of the army, he could continue to rule till his death, he could have little hope that his system would long survive him. Stricken with illness, he was at length confined to his room, where he was attended with loving care by his daughter. On 3rd September, 1658, the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester, he died. Regarded by some as the greatest traitor, by others as the greatest patriot, in the history of this country, he was without doubt one of the greatest men of his own or any other time, of this or any other land. His enemies speak of his ambition. If this be a fault, it was ambition for his faith and his country rather than for himself. His military capacity was of no mean order. He organised and maintained an army of such efficiency that it never, under his leadership, experienced defeat. In the eyes

of foreign nations he raised England from the low estate in which the Stuart Kings had left her to a position of unchallenged power in Europe. To him, more than to any other single man, was due the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of Puritan rule, and, though he did not succeed in making it permanent, no other man could have carried it on as long as he did.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE FALL OF PURITAN RULE

RICHARD CROMWELL, Oliver's son, became Protector after his father's death. He was easy-going and good-natured, and of a religious disposition, but he was not fitted by either inclination or capacity to rule the country. His tastes were those of a country gentleman, and he cared little for politics. The soldiers, especially the leading officers, were from the beginning restless under his rule. If any one of them had been really fit to succeed the great Oliver he might easily have deposed the new Protector and occupied his place, and in that case the Protectorate might have continued for a few more years. But there was no general of outstanding capacity; there were two or three who intrigued against the Protector and against each other, each hoping to secure in time the supreme power.

The third Protectorate Parliament assembled in January, 1659. It resembled the Parliaments called by Oliver Cromwell in that it included members from Scotland and Ireland, but was unlike them in that the English members were elected by the old constituencies, and not by those established by the Instrument of Government. Friction soon arose between Protector and Parliament on the one hand and the army on the other hand. Fleetwood, one of its leaders, demanded the appointment of General of the army. But Richard refused to give Fleetwood higher rank than that of Lieutenant-General, under himself as General. The quarrel developed, Parliament was dissolved, and Richard, rather than be a puppet in the hands of ambitious soldiers, resigned the Protectorate in May, 1659, and retired into private life.

The members of the Rump who had been expelled by Oliver Cromwell in 1653 now reassembled. They declared that the whole Protectorate, with all its acts, was null and void, and for some months continued their pretence of being the sovereign power of the country. A Royalist rising was crushed during

the summer of 1659 by Lambert, another army commander, who gained some prestige in consequence. On returning to London he expelled the Rump, which, however, was allowed to resume its sittings before the end of the year.

George Monk, the Governor of Scotland, now decided to march south, and entered England at the beginning of 1660. Lambert opposed him, but his forces deserted to Monk, and he himself fell into his rival's hands. Monk at length reached London without giving any indication of his intentions. He was the one man who might possibly have taken upon himself the double burden of the Protectorate and the supreme command of the army. But he ordered the Rump to receive back the Presbyterian members who had been expelled by Colonel Pride in 1648, so that, as far as could be, the Long Parliament was restored. But Monk had restored it merely in order that it might vote its own dissolution, which it did, after appointing him General of the whole army. He then ordered the election of a new Parliament.

The new assembly, known as the Convention, was representative of England only, and was chosen by the old electors in the old constituencies, the electoral arrangements established in the Instrument of Government being entirely disregarded. This was the first time since the election of the Long Parliament in 1640 that the people of this country had had the chance of expressing their opinions freely, and they showed their minds in no uncertain way by sending to Westminster a large majority of Royalist members. The Convention at once began to consider the terms on which it would open negotiations with Charles II.

Charles was watching events in England with the keenest interest, and in April, 1660 he issued the Declaration of Breda, so called from the little town of that name in Holland where he was living at the time. In it he promised that, if he were restored to the throne, he would grant a general pardon to every one who had been concerned in the Great Rebellion, excepting only such persons as were excepted by Parliament, he would arrange for the payment and disbandment of the army, he would leave the settlement of the land question to Parliament, and he would grant "liberty to tender consciences," i.e. he would give religious toleration. In issuing this declaration he was advised by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, the faithful friend who had accompanied him throughout his exile.

The offer of a general pardon was less generous than it appeared to be. Hyde saw clearly that in the general enthusiasm of a Restoration a strongly Royalist Parliament would be elected, and that it would be eager to punish its Puritan opponents. The leading rebels would be punished by Parliament without any odium attaching to the King.

The Convention was at first inclined to state terms on which Charles was to resume the throne. But Monk also was in communication with the King, and when the Convention realised that he was quite able, and perhaps willing, to effect the Restoration without its sanction, it dropped its conditions, and invited Charles to resume possession of the crown. He accepted the offer, landed at Dover, and entered London on his thirtieth birthday, 29th May, 1660, amid widespread rejoicing.

Thus, after eleven years of Puritan rule, the ancient monarchy was re-established. It is perhaps remarkable that the Puritan Commonwealth did not last longer. Its rule was, on the whole, efficient, and the land was kept in order. For the first time in history the whole of the British Isles had been brought under one Government. Under the Puritans, England's name was respected and feared abroad as had rarely, perhaps never, been the case in earlier times. The Puritans had able leaders. Yet, in spite of all these circumstances, their rule did not last.

The chief reason for their failure is the fact that their rule rested on too narrow a basis. They never succeeded in winning the confidence of the nation as a whole. The people were repelled by their narrowness and bigotry; a batch of vexatious laws, which interfered with the ordinary customs and habits of the nation, kept alive a dislike of Puritan rule which might otherwise have died down in time. The Government was always compelled to rely upon the support of the army, and Englishmen were thus constantly being reminded that they were being ruled by force. The Puritan leaders, other than Cromwell, were self-seeking, ambitious men, who were unable to combine for the common cause, and who allowed it to go to ruin in their efforts to thwart one another. Above all, the Commonwealth was fated from the beginning by the death of Charles I, which turned the bulk of the nation against it.

If the enemies of Charles I had shown greater moderation in victory, if they had kept him in honourable captivity for the rest of his life and had ruled in his name, they would not have

been so completely handicapped by the hostility of the nation. Royalist plots there would have been, but none more serious than actually occurred. Even if Charles had been sentenced to perpetual exile he would have been no more able than was his son to overthrow Puritan rule. If, further, the toleration which was permitted to the various forms of Puritanism had been extended to Church worship, and if there had been less interference with popular ways, the nation would sooner or later have acquiesced in its new Government, and it would have been possible to conceal its military character. If, finally, a real successor to Cromwell had emerged, his rule might have continued indefinitely. If all these conditions had been fulfilled, Stuart rule might never have been restored, and the subsequent history of England would have been entirely different.

It is easy to see the mistakes made by the Puritans, but it should not be forgotten that they made a great experiment. Though they failed, and failed so completely that the restoration of their rule was never possible, yet they exercised a profound influence in English history, and the monarchy that was restored was by no means the same in character as that which had been destroyed. It is one mark of the greatness of Charles II that he saw this far more clearly than did other men of his time.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE SETTLEMENT OF AFFAIRS AFTER THE RESTORATION

CHARLES II upon his return was accompanied and followed by large numbers of Royalists who had shared his exile. They came back in high spirits and with great expectations. The recovery of their forfeited property and the gift of appointments at court and elsewhere were among the rewards they expected to receive for their loyalty. But to dispossess the existing holders of land and of government appointments would not be easy, and it soon became clear that in many directions the settlement of affairs would require careful thought. For some months the Convention which had invited Charles back continued to sit, but in 1661 it was replaced by a properly summoned Parliament, in which the Royalist element was so strong that it is known as the Cavalier Parliament. The settlement was the work partly of the one body and partly of the other.

To every Royalist the King's reign dated from 1649 and not from 1660, so that the year of the Restoration was his twelfth and not his first. It followed, therefore, that everything done during the interregnum was treated as null and void, and this principle was extended to cover everything done by Parliament since the outbreak of the Great Rebellion in 1642—everything, in fact, which had not received the royal assent was regarded as invalid. Laws passed by the Rump and the Cromwellian Parliaments ceased to be enforced, though some such laws, including the Navigation Act, were re-enacted early in the new reign. But this policy of non-recognition of Puritan acts was not followed in every way. To be strictly logical the restored Stuart Government should have relinquished Jamaica and Dunkirk, which had been conquered during the Protectorate, to Spain. Needless to say, this was not done. A year or two later Dunkirk was sold to France. Jamaica remains part of the British Empire to this day. No attempt was made, however, to overthrow the early work of the Long Parliament

and to restore the system of Charles I. The Acts abolishing the prerogative courts and definitely establishing parliamentary control over taxation were allowed to stand. The only Act of this period which was reversed was that which removed bishops from the House of Lords. Charles I had consented to this immediately before the outbreak of war merely to gain time. Under his son the bishops were restored to their places in Parliament.

Much of Charles I's trouble had been due to the insufficiency of his income, and one of the earliest and most necessary features of the settlement was the arrangement of an adequate royal income. Under the Commonwealth the feudal dues had ceased to be paid, and an excise tax upon beers and other alcoholic liquors had been established. This arrangement was continued under Charles II. It was decided that the proper figure for the King's income was £1,200,000 per annum. He was permitted to receive the revenue from the Crown lands and to levy tunnage and poundage. The receipts from these sources, added to that from the excise, were estimated to produce the required sum. But the estimate was inaccurate, and Charles obtained barely a million a year by these arrangements, which are open to criticism on other grounds also. The extinction of the feudal payments brought relief to one class of people, the landowners; the excise which replaced this ancient source of income fell upon all, rich and poor alike. It would have been juster to establish in place of the feudal payments a general tax upon land, which would have fallen upon the class which had paid the dues now extinguished. But no general land-tax was levied before the reign of William III.

The King's promise with regard to the New Model Army was fulfilled. The soldiers had been drawn up at Blackheath as Charles passed to London. They alone had refrained from cheering him; they would not welcome him. But without leaders they were powerless to prevent his restoration. The men received their pay and the bulk of them were discharged. Two regiments of foot and a few troops of horse were, however, retained in the royal service. They formed a small standing army of about five thousand men. As time went on, and the soldiers of this small army were replaced by newly-enlisted men, the Puritan character of the force disappeared. In addition, men were stationed at Dunkirk, and a garrison was

kept at Tangier, which Charles received at the time of his marriage, for many years. These forces were under military discipline, but it seems that there was no legal authority for imposing punishments on men who disobeyed orders. The King issued Articles of War, under which the army was controlled, but actually the ordinary law applied equally to soldiers and to civilians. The King now had the nucleus of a force with which to crush any future rebellion. It may be noted, also, that as a precaution against future trouble the walls of towns throughout the country were ordered to be thrown down, exception being made only of Oxford, which had been conspicuously loyal to the late King.

Charles was not anxious to punish those who had opposed his father and himself. But Hyde had reckoned quite rightly that Parliament would prove to be more Royalist than the King. Both the Convention and the Cavalier Parliament were eager to prove their loyalty and to gratify their desire for revenge by putting prominent rebels to death. The greatest of all the rebels, Oliver Cromwell, was beyond the reach of vengeance, but his body and those of Ireton and Bradshaw were removed from Westminster Abbey and hanged at Tyburn. What then happened to Cromwell's body is uncertain. It may have been buried at the foot of the gallows. But there was a tale that, a few days after it had been hanged, a group of horsemen, who had been troopers in the Ironsides, removed it by night and rode away with it to the north. Their subsequent movements are not known with certainty, but it is possible that the great Protector's body was given a last resting-place in an unknown grave on Marston Moor.

The King tried as far as possible to restrain the passion of his followers for vengeance. But he was reminded that out of respect for his father's memory he must at least permit the punishments of the murderers of Charles I. Certain members of the court which had tried the late King were already under arrest, and the others were called upon to surrender. About nineteen escaped from the country. Of those who were unwise enough to surrender, twenty-five were imprisoned for life, and thirteen were put to death. (This last number included two or three people who were prominent during the Commonwealth, but who had not been among the judges of Charles I.) It was probably due to Charles himself that his reign did not begin with a much longer list of executions. He was

unwilling, by shedding blood uselessly, to make the same mistake as the Puritans, who, by beheading Charles I, had alienated public opinion.

The land question, to which special reference had been made in the Declaration of Breda, was complicated. The Crown lands, and those belonging to the Church, had been confiscated by the Commonwealth, and it was inevitable that they should be restored. But many Cavaliers had lost lands upon passing into exile with the King, and they confidently expected the restoration of their property. Some of them had fled abroad, and the Commonwealth had simply taken and sold their lands because they were "Malignants." But many others had sold their property during the Great Rebellion in order to aid the King. In either case, since its original loss the property might have changed hands half a dozen times, by legitimate sale and purchase every time. To order the wholesale restoration of such lands would be to commit grave injustice to the existing holders. In the end, it was enacted that Crown and Church lands were to be restored, no matter who held them. The confiscated Cavalier lands were to be restored, but not those which had been sold by the King's supporters. This settlement was made without much regard for gratitude to the dispossessed Cavaliers, or for justice to the existing holders.

The question of religion was not easy to settle. That the Church should be restored was inevitable, but it was by no means clear, after the King's promise of liberty to tender consciences, that Puritanism should be suppressed. The surviving bishops resumed their positions as a matter of course. Juxon was appointed to Canterbury in succession to Laud, but he was old and feeble, and the real leadership fell to Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, who at the death of Juxon in 1663 succeeded to Canterbury. During the Commonwealth most of the Church clergy had been expelled, and their places as vicars or rectors of parish churches had been filled by Puritan ministers (Independent, Anabaptist, or Presbyterian). Before proceeding to expel these men and restore the dispossessed clergy the King made an effort to bring about a settlement of the differences between the Church and the Puritans. A conference between representatives of the two sides met at the Savoy Palace in 1661. No agreement was possible, however. The Puritans held fast to their principles. From

a worldly point of view they were unwise not to secure the best terms possible and accept them, for if no agreement could be reached the Churchmen were certain to have their way. The Conference ordered the Prayer Book to be revised, but it did not thereby become acceptable to the Puritans. In 1662 Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity and the Episcopal Ordination Act, which ordered the Puritan ministers to be expelled unless they would consent to be ordained by a bishop and would promise to use the Book of Common Prayer. In other words, they were to lose their places unless they would go over to the other side and become priests of the Church. Some, not many, did this, but the majority refused. The order was to be enforced on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, 1662, when nearly two thousand Puritan ministers gave up their posts rather than give up their principles. The hardships and persecution which they suffered then and afterwards have caused their memory to be revered, and rightly so, by English Nonconformists as that of men who on "Black Bartholomew" gave up all for conscience' sake. In fairness, however, it is necessary to point out that they received precisely the same treatment as had been meted out to the clergy of the Church under the Commonwealth.

Affairs in Scotland, political and ecclesiastical, also called for attention. For nine years the two countries had been united, but at the Restoration the two kingdoms were treated as separate, though it is possible that Clarendon would have preferred to retain the union. Charles realised that a complete restoration of affairs as they had existed in his father's reign would be very difficult, and the attempt might be resisted, and might result in a renewal of strife. It was the Scottish revolt against the Prayer Book and the bishops which had compelled Charles I to call the Long Parliament and had led to his subsequent misfortunes. Charles II, in his brief occupation of the Scottish throne after his father's death, had taken the Covenant. He had no thought of being bound by it now, but he judged it wiser not to attempt to restore the Prayer Book. He wished the Church to be episcopal, however, and a Rescissory Act was passed in Scotland in 1661 which abolished all that had been done since 1633, the year in which Charles I was crowned King of Scotland, and restored that state of affairs which had existed in that year. The effect was that bishops were restored but the Prayer Book was dropped. Argyll was

arrested and put to death for "treason," and the real government of Scotland passed into the hands of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, James Sharp, and the Earl of Lauderdale. The result of the Restoration in Scotland was, therefore, that the northern kingdom regained its independence of England, a matter which soothed Scottish pride, but it lost the advantages of union. Its trade suffered, as it became a foreign country under the Navigation Acts, and it was no longer permitted to trade with English colonies. And throughout the reign the Covenanters of the west and south-west were cruelly persecuted.

The Restoration in Ireland was accomplished peacefully, for the mass of the people were Royalist. The land question, however, presented difficulty. Cavaliers who had lost their lands expected their restoration. These lands were now in the possession of Puritan veterans who had settled in Ireland, and Charles did not wish to dispossess these men, who, if they lost their farms, would return to England and form a discontented and possibly rebellious class, while, if they remained in Ireland, they would necessarily be loyal to the King and help to keep the native Irish in subjection. An Act of Settlement was passed in 1661, which directed that the settlers should keep their lands, and that the Cavaliers should have their estates, or lands of equal value, restored. The obvious defect in the Act, that there would not be enough land to satisfy everybody, was overlooked until the work of restoration began. Ultimately it was found necessary to modify the Act of Settlement by passing an Act of Explanation in 1665, by which the Puritans were compelled to give up one-third of their lands in order to satisfy Cavalier claims. It should be added that, although the Church of Ireland was restored, Roman Catholic worship was not forbidden. The country settled down to its usual state of hatred of English rule, manifested by disorder in the remoter parts of the island.

The Restoration was thus accomplished throughout the British Isles. The old monarchy was revived in the person of Charles II, and it was clearly the will of the people that this should be done. But the struggle had not been in vain, for the old system of non-parliamentary rule practised by Charles I was not restored. Most of the early measures of the Long Parliament were left untouched, and Charles II understood that Parliament would henceforth be an essential and

regular part of the machinery of government, and that it must be reckoned with in ruling the country. The King was not the man to struggle against the inevitable by trying to restore what was gone for good, when the very effort might well cause him to lose his throne. But neither would he let all power slip from his hands. If Parliament must exist, he determined to use it and to control it. If it could be induced to act as he wished, he might still secure his own ends, though in appearance he would rule as a constitutional monarch. For the first time in English history, members of Parliament were regularly bribed to support the Crown. The bribes were not always in the form of money. Titles, appointments, honours of various kinds, would appeal to some men more than money. Many members were awarded pensions or were appointed to sinecure offices—posts with large salaries and no duties. They understood that they would continue to hold such posts as long as they continued to support the Court party in Parliament. The system was so widespread that the Cavalier Parliament, elected in 1661, was known also as the Pension Parliament. Hitherto, it had been unnecessary for a king to "influence" a Parliament which he could dismiss at any time. But the King had now to regard Parliament as a regular part of the constitution, and from this time onward the bribery of Parliament became a feature of English politics which did not disappear till the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

CHARLES II

DURING his lifetime Charles II was considered by many people to be a lazy, dissolute fellow who cared nothing for the work of government, which he left to others, but only for his own pleasures, and he has been so regarded by some historians ever since. This is exactly the impression he wished to convey. That he succeeded is some evidence of his ability. He was the ablest, and in some ways the greatest, of the Stuart kings. Much of the work of government he left to others, but it was the work of routine and detail, and the settlement of matters of minor importance. The main lines of his policy he kept in his own hands. He was, indeed, influenced by ministers and favourites, but they did not control him, although they seemed to do so. He was content to remain in the background and to leave his ministers to take the blame for the twists and turns of his policy. He was as fully determined as his father and grandfather had been to be an absolute monarch, but he cared nothing about the appearance of power so long as he had its substance. Realising that much had happened since the beginning of the century, he made no attempt until towards the end of his reign to rule without Parliament. Since Parliament must exist, he preferred to do what would never have occurred to his father to do—to control it by corrupt means and make it his tool, and so to use it to strengthen his power. With little sincere belief in religion he veered alternately towards the Church of England and the Church of Rome, according as best suited his purpose from time to time. He solved the money question which troubled his father by accepting large sums from his cousin, Louis XIV, King of France. He has thus been accused of selling England to France—of becoming Louis' paid servitor. How far this was from being the truth he realised even better than Louis himself. For he regularly accepted Louis' money, but suited himself about keeping to the terms of the bargain he made.

Further, he would so arrange matters as to induce Louis to pay him to adopt a line of policy which he would have followed in any case. While he was pursuing these tricky ways much of his time was passed in a round of gaiety and dissipation that completely hoodwinked most of the people of his own and later times.

It would seem that a king who acted in this way was without principle. Principles of religion and morality he had none, but he held firmly to the family principle of Divine Right, though he did not talk about it, and the story of his action in preserving his brother's succession to the throne against the efforts of the Whigs to exclude him illustrates to the full both his devotion to the cause of Divine Right and his great ability in intrigue.

Charles II was tall and active, gay and witty. His court was crowded with his dissolute followers. The King himself was gracious, though he did not altogether forget the dignity of his position. He gained the reputation of being kind-hearted, since he rarely refused a request. But such kindness was superficial, and did not extend to the taking of any steps to save the innocent people who were done to death while the nation was panic-stricken about the Popish Plot. But his apparent generosity served to increase his popularity, and so helped in the fulfilment of his frequently expressed determination, "not to go upon his travels again."

His cousin Louis XIV (they were both grandsons of Henry IV, King of France) was apparently a much greater king. He was dignified and serious, and lived in great state, and in later life became very religious. He was engrossed in statesmanlike and far-reaching schemes for the strengthening of France and the extension of his own power. He continued the policy of Henry IV and Richelieu in trying to secure natural boundaries for his country. These she possessed except in the east, and he desired to extend the French frontier to the Rhine. But this would involve the conquest of all territory on the left bank of that river, including several states of the Holy Roman Empire in addition to the Spanish Netherlands and part of the United Netherlands. He thus became engaged in long, bloody, and expensive wars which brought about the exhaustion of France without any corresponding benefit. Later in his reign he hoped to secure the throne of Spain for his grandson, so that if he succeeded the Spanish Netherlands would become

to all intents and purposes part of France. He hoped to see the Roman Catholic faith restored in England and for this purpose was willing to make large grants of money to Charles II in order to make him independent of Parliament. The success of these schemes would make Louis unquestionably supreme in western Europe, with vassal kings in Great Britain and Spain, and if, as he hoped at one time, he became Holy Roman Emperor as well, his power would extend over the greater part of the continent. France was already formidable by reason of her large population. She probably had twenty millions of people, while Spain had seven millions. Her chief opponents, England and Holland, could muster only about five millions and three millions respectively. But Louis, in spite of his schemes, was a man of second-rate ability, and did not realise the extent to which Charles was willing to use him for his own purposes.

For the first seven years of the reign Hyde, now Earl of Clarendon, was Chancellor, and carried on the government. He hoped to establish the Crown and the Church so firmly that they could never again be overthrown. The work of settlement, already described, was carried out during this period, and his name has been connected, rather unfairly, with a series of persecuting laws passed against the Puritans by the victorious Cavalier party. They were not to be members of corporations, for in towns the members of Parliament were frequently chosen by town councils; the exclusion of Puritans from these bodies would make it more likely that future Parliaments would be Royalist in character. The ministers expelled from their livings under the Act of Uniformity were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to set up meeting-places of their own. And by a further act these ministers were forbidden to live within five miles of any corporate town or of any place where they had formerly ministered. The enforcement of these cruel laws led to the imprisonment of numbers of Puritans, among whom was John Bunyan, author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The promise of "liberty to tender consciences," made in the Declaration of Breda, was forgotten.

The Restoration made no immediate difference to English foreign policy. Charles and his Chancellor continued the friendship of England with France which had been maintained now, with little break, for almost a century. This policy is indicated by the King's marriage. If there had been a French

princess of marriageable age it is probable that Charles would have wedded her. The lady selected to be his wife was Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess. Charles was not in the least in love with her, and the marriage must be regarded from the point of view of its political importance. Portugal had been conquered by Spain in 1580, but since 1640 it had been struggling, and with success, to recover its independence, a task in which French help had been given, as France was at war with Spain till 1659. The marriage must be taken, therefore, as indicating French alliance. Some interest attaches to Catherine's dowry, which included Bombay, Tangier, and a sum of money. The King granted Bombay to the East India Company. Tangier, a place on the north African coast, was occupied by an English garrison till 1684, when the troops were withdrawn and the place abandoned.

Neither Clarendon nor his master wished to retain the Cromwellian conquest of Dunkirk, which, indeed, was of little use to England unless schemes of continental warfare were to be entertained. Its retention would involve the country in the expense, estimated at £100,000 a year, of another garrison abroad. Louis XIV, on the other hand, wanted it, and was willing to buy it, which he did for the sum of £200,000. The sale was much criticised at the time, and Clarendon was accused, unjustly, of accepting a French bribe to induce him to consent to it. The new house that he was building was nicknamed by the mob, "Dunkirk House." But Dunkirk was useless to England, it would be a source of expense, and its sale would put in the King's hands a sum of ready money which he needed badly. In the circumstances the acceptance of Louis' offer was a sensible and even statesmanlike act.

Anglo-Dutch enmity, which had existed under the Commonwealth, continued under the restored monarchy. As already stated, the Navigation Act had been re-enacted and extended. In addition to the rules of the Commonwealth Act, which were repeated word for word, it was ordered that Dutch merchants and agents were not to live in any English colony, and also that whalebone, blubber, and salt fish imported into England were to pay double duty, unless they came in the ship which obtained them. It was assumed that if they came in any other ship the Dutch would have had some interest in the trade. Before long Dutch and English were fighting in various parts of the world, especially in North America. Open war followed

in 1665. As in the previous war, hostilities were entirely on the water. Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert defeated the Dutch off Lowestoft, and they followed up their victory with a raid on the Dutch coast in which they destroyed much merchant shipping. Lack of funds, however, caused the King to order that a number of ships of the navy should be laid up in port. The Dutch now had their revenge, and their fleet, repaired and refitted, sailed up the Thames and the Medway to Chatham, where they burned the dockyard and several ships of the navy. This incident caused much alarm in London, but it did not prevent the making of peace in 1667 on terms very favourable to this country. By the Treaty of Breda each side was to retain its conquests, and the practical effect of this was that the Dutch settlements in North America—New Amsterdam and New Jersey—passed into English hands. New Amsterdam was given to the King's brother, the Duke of York, who held the post of Lord High Admiral, and it was renamed New York.

London was visited by the plague in 1665. Such outbreaks were frequent, but this was exceptionally severe, and many thousands of citizens died. The visitation of 1665 differed from many others, however, only in degree. Conditions of life in London were very bad. Narrow streets, badly ventilated houses, the absence of satisfactory systems of sanitation and water-supply, contributed to bring about the outbreak. It was not till the nineteenth century that the secret of healthy life in large towns was discovered—pure water, perfect sanitation, absence of crowding, and the isolation of cases of infectious disease as soon as they occur. The plague of 1665 was followed by the Great Fire of 1666. A large part of the city was swept away, and opportunity was thus offered of rebuilding on better lines. St. Paul's was one of the churches destroyed, and the present cathedral was built in its place from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren.

Clarendon was never a popular minister, and he was disliked increasingly as the years went on. To the King and the gayer spirits at court he seemed stiff, formal, and old-fashioned. The Puritans attributed their troubles to him. In Parliament the critics of court extravagance found in him a defender of the King, and were ready to regard him as the author of the evils they deplored. Yet he remonstrated with the King in private, and Charles found that an old and faithful servant could

become an intolerable bore. The disasters which befell during the Dutch war led to public demand for his fall. He was not responsible for what had happened, but he was the scapegoat on whom the blame fell. There was talk of impeachment, and Clarendon became alarmed. He must have known that a charge of treason could not possibly have been sustained. Yet Strafford had been no traitor, and Strafford had died. The King advised him to fly to the continent, and he did so in 1667. This was exactly what everybody wanted. To prevent his return an Act of Attainder was passed against him, his flight being taken as an admission of guilt. There was, of course, no real intention of putting him to death, but the Act served its purpose. He spent his remaining years in France, and wrote a *History of the Great Rebellion*. He died in 1674.

Freed from Clarendon, Charles resolved not to have a chief minister in future. For the next few years the chief offices of state were held by Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. The fact that the initial letters of their names happen to form the word *Cabal* has given rise to the idea that they formed a secret council which ruled the country for its own sinister purposes. Nothing is farther from the truth. The King ruled the country, and they did not even form a council. Probably not one of them enjoyed the King's entire confidence, and they certainly had different aims, and intrigued against one another.

During this period Charles seems to have considered embracing the Roman Catholic faith and forming a close alliance with France in order to further his plans of becoming absolute. Louis had been at war with Spain for possession of the Spanish Netherlands, and the Dutch, in alarm at the prospect of the French reaching their borders, obtained the alliance of England and Sweden for their defence. This Triple Alliance of 1668, which was popular in England, caused Louis to give up for the time being his plan of conquest of the Spanish Netherlands and to be content with the acquisition of territories to the east of France which brought him nearer to the Rhine, but he was determined to punish the Dutch for their presumption in checking his schemes. To detach England from the Triple Alliance he sent as his representative to England the Duchess of Orleans, Charles's sister, and the only person for whom he really cared. The King of England was quite willing to listen to proposals for a French alliance, and in

1670 entered into the Treaty of Dover, by which he agreed to assist Louis in his forthcoming war against the Dutch. Louis further undertook to pay Charles the sum of two million livres (a livre was the equivalent of the modern franc), while Charles promised to embrace the Roman Catholic faith—not immediately, but at some future time when circumstances should be favourable to such a course. There was, however, a possibility that this change in the King's religion and his acceptance of French gold might lead to another Puritan rebellion in England, and if this should happen Louis undertook to assist Charles with a brigade of six thousand French troops. It might seem that such help would be totally inadequate against a revived New Model Army, but it must be remembered that such a force at the King's disposal at the beginning of a revolt would probably turn the scale in his favour. Charles thus appeared to have reversed his foreign policy completely between 1668 and 1670. It is probable, however, that he was never very sincere in his Dutch alliance, and that he entered into it in order to be in a position to bargain with Louis. He was quite willing to ally with France, but he had no intention of giving for nothing an alliance which Louis could be induced to purchase. The greater part of the Treaty of Dover was secret even from some of the King's ministers. Clifford and Arlington knew of it. Buckingham and Ashley were certainly ignorant of Charles's intention to become a Roman Catholic.

The Dutch War, the second of the reign and the third of the century, began in 1672, and the republic was attacked by the French on land and by the English at sea at the same time. Louis invaded Holland at the head of large armies under the real command of his marshals, Turenne and Condé. Panic prevailed for a time, and the Dutch statesmen, Jan and Cornelius De Witt, were overthrown and murdered. There had been no Stadtholder since 1650, but the office was now revived, and the young William of Orange, son of William II, and grandson of King Charles I, and therefore nephew of Charles II, was appointed to it. He adopted the heroic measure of opening the dykes and flooding a large part of the land, forcing the French to draw back. He thus gained his immediate object of holding on till the winter, and before the spring an alliance was formed against France. By 1673 Louis was faced with a European war instead of a Dutch war. Fighting continued

till 1678, and when peace was made by the Treaty of Nijmegen in that year Louis failed to gain a single acre of Dutch territory. At sea a stubborn fight occurred in 1673 between the English fleet, under the Duke of York, and the Dutch, under De Ruyter, off Southwold. Twice the Duke was forced to transfer his flag to another ship, so that he had three flagships in the course of the battle. (Another occasion in English history when such an incident happened was in 1915, in the Battle of the Dogger Bank, when Sir David Beatty had three flagships in succession in the course of the fight.)

Charles had not yet announced his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith, and judged that the opportunity to make public so unpopular a change might come when the nation was rejoicing over a series of victories over the Dutch. Meanwhile he attempted to conciliate the Puritans (by this time commonly called Dissenters, because they dissented from the Church) by issuing a Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended the operation of all laws which imposed penalties on anybody for reasons of religion. Many imprisoned Dissenters, among them John Bunyan, were released. The Declaration was welcomed by some who, like Ashley (now Earl of Shaftesbury), hoped to see toleration established, and by others who, like the Duke of York, realised that the concession to Dissenters applied equally to Papists. But this method of granting freedom from persecution was open to serious objection. The King had no right by himself to suspend a law which had been passed by Parliament.

At the same time as the Declaration of Indulgence was issued, another royal act caused grave financial difficulty in the city of London. The goldsmiths had developed a banking business, and had lent some of their surplus funds to the King, who in 1672 suspended the payment of interest on these loans and postponed the repayment of the loans themselves, though the existence of the debt was recognised. The goldsmiths were in difficulties, and could not pay their customers. Many people were ruined.

When Parliament met in 1673 the Declaration of Indulgence came in for severe criticism, and a definite protest was sent to the King. He replied that he had not acted in any unconstitutional way, and that he had merely done what had been done by other kings before him. But members of Parliament, Anglican and Puritan alike, pressed for the withdrawal of the

Declaration. Shaftesbury, who still thought that Charles wanted to give toleration to Protestant Dissenters, and York, who knew that his brother intended the Declaration as a step towards Romanism, both advised him to stand firm. Louis, however, in the crisis of the Dutch War, did not want to see Charles embroiled in a contest with his people, and advised him to give way. Charles was able to gauge the situation accurately, and he withdrew the Declaration. The triumphant party in Parliament followed up its victory by passing the Test Act, by which all persons who held office under the Crown were to take an oath denying belief in transubstantiation, and were to take the sacrament according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. This famous Act was intended to keep Roman Catholics out of public posts. It did not apply to the Crown itself, but a large number of resignations, including those of Clifford, Arlington, and the Duke of York, indicated that many Papists held high positions at court and elsewhere. Charles realised that no-popery feeling was as strong among Anglicans as among Puritans, and he definitely gave up his aim of reaching absolutism by following a Catholicising policy.

The Cabal period was over. Clifford and Arlington were no longer in office. Shaftesbury's eyes were opened at last to the King's real policy, and though that policy was now dropped he became henceforth Charles's bitter opponent. Charles turned to a new adviser, Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, a stout defender of the Church, and hoped that his influence over Parliament would revive the loyalty and submissiveness of that body. If Danby could induce Parliament to support the King, he would not be driven to make the unpleasant choice between calling a new Parliament and ruling without one. Danby was a staunch Cavalier and Churchman. He did not hesitate to use bribery in order to keep to his side a solid majority of members of the House of Commons, although the original enthusiastic loyalty of the Cavalier Parliament had died away, and a definite opposition party was being formed under the leadership of Shaftesbury. Danby did not approve of the French connection, and was anxious to establish friendly relations with the Dutch. The King was less desirous than formerly to crush them, now that his nephew was Stadtholder, and accordingly peace was made with Holland in 1674 by the Treaty of Westminster, Louis being left to continue the war

alone. Charles, however, was not disposed to range himself against Louis, and saw clearly that he might be able to play his cousin and his Parliament off against each other. If Parliament proved to be antagonistic he could point out to Louis that, unless French money were forthcoming, he would be forced to yield to parliamentary demands, even to the extent of assisting the Dutch against France. Accordingly, in 1675 Louis promised to pay Charles £100,000 per annum if Parliament was dissolved. This was not done, though it was not allowed to meet for more than a year. When it reassembled in 1677 Shaftesbury urged that it had legally ceased to exist in consequence of the long interval which had elapsed. This was a bad move on his part and both Houses opposed his view, the Lords even sending him to the Tower. Louis paid two million livres to secure a further prorogation. Danby, however, pursued his plans for a Dutch alliance while his master was intriguing with the French King. In November, 1677, the young Stadtholder married the Princess Mary, daughter of the Duke of York. The marriage was popular, and it was anticipated that Parliament at its meeting would grant money for a war to help the Dutch against France. Further, as the Duke was his brother's heir and had no son, Mary was second in succession to the throne. Her marriage was immensely important, therefore, and it might be regarded as indicating an English intention to help the Dutch against France. Louis was thoroughly alarmed at this possibility and renewed his negotiations with Charles. By a secret agreement made early in 1678 Charles undertook to remain neutral in return for a payment of six million livres. He had no real intention of re-entering the war, but he was quite willing to let Louis pay for the maintenance of a neutrality which he did not mean to break in any case. Danby was much against this treaty, but at the King's command he conducted the negotiations. Not long after the conclusion of the treaty Louis himself made peace with the Dutch by the Treaty of Nijmegen.

The whole country was stirred in 1678 by the announcement of the supposed discovery of a Roman Catholic plot to kill the King and put the Duke of York on the throne, and to accompany these proceedings by a general massacre of Protestants. Information of the plot was given by Titus Oates, a man of bad character, who had formerly studied in a Jesuit college in Spain, from which he had been expelled. He now asserted

that he had made certain discoveries, as a result of his association with the Jesuits, which he, as a loyal subject, was bound to reveal. In times before Scotland Yard had been established for the detection of crime, the Government relied upon "informers" to assist them in its exposure and prevention, and such people were rewarded. There was never any lack of them, and most of them were out-and-out liars. Oates was no exception to the rule, and it is certain that he came forward in order to secure a reward for what he revealed. Perhaps his tale would have attracted little attention had not Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate before whom Oates placed his revelations, been murdered a few days afterwards. Oates announced that the murder was the work of the Papists, and that the massacre of Protestants was beginning. The greatest public excitement prevailed. As a matter of fact the "plot" was a pure invention. Oates in his examinations was proved again and again to be lying; yet people believed him, and public feeling was stirred very strongly against the Roman Catholics. Many were arrested for their complicity in the plot, and from time to time Oates made fresh revelations, naming others who in their turn were seized. These unfortunate people were given the farce of a trial and were sentenced to death. Nothing in his life is more discreditable to Charles II than his failure to exert himself to save these innocent victims of popular panic. Oates was richly rewarded, and was even given a bodyguard when he stated that the Papists were threatening his life. He did not accuse the Duke of York of complicity in the plot, but he brought a charge against the Queen. The King, however, resented this so warmly that the informer judged that he had made a mistake, and the accusation was dropped. The King himself utterly disbelieved in the plot, and to his brother he made the uncomplimentary remark, "They will never kill me to make you King." But the London mob was intensely excited. To the people there seemed nothing unreasonable in the revelations of Titus Oates. Roman Catholics were regarded as capable of any evil. During the century they had plotted murder on a large scale in the reign of James I, a massacre of Protestants had occurred in Ireland in 1641, they were believed (quite unjustly) to have caused the Great Fire of 1666, and now they were thought to be planning fresh mischief.

It is doubtful if Shaftesbury believed in the plot, but he

saw the possibility of making use of it. The no-popery feeling of the nation was roused, and Shaftesbury regarded this as a golden opportunity to secure the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession to the throne. The Earl had for some time been engaged in organising his followers in Parliament as a definite party, which was soon to be known as the Whig party. The first use he made of the situation created by the plot was to secure the passage through Parliament of the Parliamentary Test Act, which debarred Roman Catholics from sitting in either House, though an exception was made in favour of the Duke of York. The principle of the Test Act of 1673 was thus extended to members of Parliament.

But the days of the Cavalier Parliament were drawing to a close. Louis XIV had always disliked Danby on account of that statesman's efforts to promote Anglo-Dutch friendship, and he now saw a chance to ruin him. A letter written by Danby at the King's command in the course of the negotiations which preceded the secret treaty of 1678 was sent by Louis to the Whigs, who placed it before the House of Commons. The amazed members found that the minister had apparently followed two policies. Openly an opponent of France, he seemed secretly to have joined in intrigues with Louis. That he had done so unwillingly, and only at the express command of King Charles, did not save him from impeachment. The Lords, however, would not commit him to prison until they had considered the charges, and to save him, and possibly to prevent further revelations, Charles dissolved Parliament, which had existed from 1661 to 1679.

The new Parliament was elected in March, 1679, while the excitement over the Popish Plot still prevailed. It was, as Shaftesbury had foreseen it would be, strongly Whig and Protestant in character. During its short existence it passed the Habeas Corpus Act, which was intended to prevent the Crown from keeping political prisoners under lock and key without bringing them to trial. Hitherto it had been difficult to get a writ of habeas corpus, which would compel a gaoler to produce his prisoner before a judge and state the cause of his detention. If it appeared to be in any way improper or illegal it was the duty of the judge to order the prisoner's release. The new Act made it easier to get the writ issued, and it prohibited the sending of prisoners over the sea in order to avoid the writ. But to Shaftesbury this was not the most

important business of the session. He hoped to use the opportunity of having a Whig majority in the House of Commons to extend the principle of the Test Act to the Crown. The Whigs brought forward an Exclusion Bill, by which the Duke of York would be deprived of his right of succession to the throne. The Bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons, and the King, to save his brother's succession, dissolved Parliament in July, 1679.

Throughout the critical time which followed Charles played a waiting game. While the no-popery fever raged, the Whigs would have a majority in Parliament, and the demand for the exclusion of the Duke would be pressed. But the King was convinced that the excitement engendered by the plot would die away in time. If he could in any way secure postponement of the question long enough, he would be able to defeat the Whig plan. But he would not be able to hold out indefinitely if Parliament exerted pressure upon him by withholding supplies of money. Accordingly, when the new Parliament was elected in October, 1679, and proved, like its predecessor, to contain a Whig majority, he postponed its meeting from time to time, and it did not actually assemble till October, 1680. Petitions and counter-petitions reached the King on the subject of the meeting of Parliament, but he preferred to wait. When at length Parliament met, the House of Commons passed the Exclusion Bill, but the measure was defeated in the House of Lords, largely through the efforts of the Earl of Halifax. The angry Whigs in the Commons refused to grant supplies, and in January, 1681, Charles dissolved Parliament. The new Parliament was ordered to meet at Oxford, on the pretext of plague raging in London, in March, 1681. The Whigs were still in a majority, but Oxford was not London. They missed the support of the London mob. Oxford was traditionally loyal to the Crown. Nevertheless, the Whigs again pressed for the Duke's exclusion. Charles attempted to bargain with them. Would they agree to the banishment of James with the title of King, William of Orange, his son-in-law, ruling as Regent? The Whigs were convinced that Charles was on the point of yielding, on account of his pressing need for money, and refused the proposed compromise. At length the two Houses were summoned to meet the King. They went to hear the announcement of his submission; they heard him dissolve Parliament. Panic-stricken, the Whigs fled from Oxford.

What was the cause of the King's triumph when he had seemed to be on the point of yielding for financial reasons? It was that once again French money had been supplied. Charles had pointed out to Louis that unless he received money he would be compelled to yield to Parliament, James would be excluded from the succession, and William would become King. Now Louis regarded William as his chief enemy. He would not like him to become King of Great Britain. The English alliance would be permanently lost to France. Rather than face this, Louis promised to pay two million livres at once and a pension of one and a half million livres per annum. No secret treaty was signed this time; there would be no incriminating papers to reach a future House of Commons. Yet, if Charles knew before the meeting of the Oxford Parliament that his difficulties had been met, why did he offer to agree to the banishment of his brother and the appointment of William as Regent? Probably the offer was not sincere, and would not have been made if the King had not been certain that the Whigs would reject it. As it was, they were made to appear to be extremists who would listen to no compromise, while he posed as a moderate man, anxious only for a reasonable settlement in the best interests of all concerned.

For the rest of his reign Charles ruled without a Parliament. The Whigs had lost, and lost so completely that for several years they ceased to exist as an organised party. The King, that consummate master of intrigue, had won. For a long time every circumstance had seemed against him, and his ultimate submission had seemed to be only a matter of time. But the Whigs had overreached themselves and had played into his hands.

The triumphant court proceeded to exact vengeance from its opponents. Proceedings were taken on trumped-up charges against various people who had been prominent against the Crown in the recent crisis. Shaftesbury was in the Tower for a time on a charge of treason, and though he succeeded in recovering his liberty he made use of it in trying to organise a rising on behalf of the Duke of Monmouth, the King's illegitimate son. The failure of this effort led to Shaftesbury's flight and death in exile in 1683. The discovery of a plot to assassinate the King at Rye House in 1683 brought about further Whig arrests, and the condemnation of Lord Russell and

Algernon Sidney. Many towns were forced to give up their charters, and to receive new ones. The new charters were so framed as to secure Tory predominance in towns which had hitherto been Whig, and it was hoped that in a future Parliament most of the town members would be Tory, as the supporters of the Crown were now being called, instead of Whig, as heretofore.

But Charles did not live to call another Parliament. Early in 1685 he was seized with apoplexy and died after a short illness. On his deathbed he refused the ministrations of the Anglican clergy, the room was cleared, and a Roman Catholic priest was smuggled in. What weight of sin was confessed to that priest by the dying King no man may know. But Charles the Second, King of Great Britain and head of the Church of England, died a penitent member of the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXIX

JAMES II

CHARLES II was succeeded by his brother James, Duke of York, whom the Whigs had tried to exclude from the throne. In some respects he was a better man than his brother, but he did not possess his brother's ability. Charles, by affecting to despise public business, by arranging matters so that his ministers were blamed for the faults of his policy, by knowing when to yield to public opinion, by being content with the substance of power without being concerned about its outward appearance, had retained his throne and restored the fortunes of his line. James, a man with some regard for truth, honour, and religion, where his brother had none, resembled his father and grandfather in being unable or unwilling to conceal his wish for arbitrary power and in openly referring to Divine Right. The whole object of his reign, after the first few months, was to bring the country back to the Roman Catholic faith and to make himself absolute.

Despite the no-popery frenzy of a few years earlier, the accession of James was not unpopular. The Tories, who had been all-powerful since the Whig flight from Oxford, believed in Divine Right, and welcomed him as the rightful heir. The nation was gratified at the issue of a statement in which James promised to uphold the Church and to regard his own religion as his private affair. It was understood that, while James as a man would be a Papist, James as King would be Head and Protector of the Church of England. The good impression was strengthened by his consenting to be crowned, as other English kings had been, in Westminster Abbey by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But his going to mass in state, and not privately, shortly afterwards, was an ominous sign of change.

A Parliament was summoned, and the effect of the Tory work of the past few years was seen. Many towns had received new charters and were now ruled by Tories, who returned Tory members to the House of Commons. The new

Parliament was strongly loyalist, and settled the royal revenue at £1,900,000 per annum for life—a sum much larger than that which Charles II had received. It was unnecessary, therefore, for James to apply from time to time either to Parliament or to Louis for supplies. His income was so large as to make him independent of both.

The Whigs were in despair. Since the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament they had been scattered throughout the country, while many of the more notable of them had taken refuge in Holland. The peaceful and even popular accession of James had destroyed their last hope of preventing his becoming King, and their thoughts turned towards treason. Two risings were planned. In Scotland the Duke of Argyll attempted to rouse his clan, but he was captured and put to death. A more serious revolt occurred in the south-west of England. The Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire with the intention of claiming the throne. He was joined by large numbers of people as he moved from place to place, and at Taunton he was proclaimed King. (His name was James, and his followers styled him King Monmouth in order to distinguish him from his rival.) But royal troops scattered his forces at Sedgemoor, and Monmouth was captured. He was brought to London, and though he was granted an interview with the King, in which he pleaded for mercy, he was put to death on Tower Hill. The rebellion was followed by the Bloody Assize, in which Chief Justice Jeffreys visited the affected counties and inflicted brutal punishment on those accused of being concerned in the revolt. Many hundreds of people were hanged, and very large numbers were sold into slavery in the West Indies, a fate that might be worse than death. The result of this barbarity was that the south-west was completely crushed for the time being, and that sullen hatred of James and his rule remained.

Memories of the Popish Plot were revived early in the reign. Titus Oates, through whose "information" many innocent Roman Catholics were executed, was now in prison and was charged with perjury, of which he was certainly guilty. Perjury was not a crime for which the death sentence could be passed, and Oates was ordered to undergo lifelong imprisonment and to stand in the pillory five times every year, besides being branded. In addition, he was to be flogged at the cart's tail from Aldgate to Newgate, and after two days from Newgate to Tyburn.

The punishment was frightful, and was probably intended to be fatal. Yet Oates survived it, and in the reign of William III he was released from prison.

The King's success during the first few months of his reign had been so marked that he now formed definite schemes for the extension of his religion in England. He had been supported hitherto by the Tory and Church party against the Whigs and he was foolish enough to think that he could rely on their continued help if he attacked the Church itself. In this he was utterly mistaken, and the remainder of his short reign is filled with the story of his efforts to extend Roman Catholicism, and of his loss of the support of every class of the community. His first difficulty was the Test Act. While it remained no Roman Catholic could hold office under the Crown, and James could make no serious progress if he could not appoint his co-religionists to places at court. Even his loyal Parliament would not modify the Test Act, and he dissolved it in anger. He then claimed the Dispensing Power, by which he was able to dispense with an Act of Parliament in the case of any person to whom it applied. To test his right to the Dispensing Power he appointed Sir Edward Hales, a Roman Catholic, to a commission in the army, and Hales's servant, a man named Godden, laid information against his master for accepting a post under the Crown without taking the oath required by the Test Act. At the trial of the case Hales produced a dispensation from the King enabling him to hold office without taking the oath. The judges were thus called upon to decide whether the dispensation was valid. They determined that it was, and the delighted King proceeded to fill up places at court and in the army with his Roman Catholic friends. The Test Act was for the time being dead, since it was only necessary for James to give, with each appointment or commission, a dispensation exempting the person named from taking the oath. The first step had been gained.

The King next turned his attention to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. At Cambridge the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Isaac Newton, was deprived of his position as head of his college because he would not admit a Benedictine monk to the degree of M.A. unless he took the usual oath of assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England—an oath that a Roman Catholic could not take. At Oxford, James, relying on his dispensing power, made various appointments of Roman

Catholics to vacant posts. At Magdalen College he directed the Fellows to choose as their President a Roman Catholic, named Farmer. They refused, and selected one of their number, Hough, for the post. They were deprived of their fellowships, and Roman Catholics were appointed in their places. James did not persist in establishing Farmer as President, but nominated in his place Parker, Bishop of Oxford, a secret Papist. The installation of the new President, however, was only possible with the support of a body of troops. The King interfered to a greater or less degree in the affairs of other colleges. He would, if he could, have made the University into a Roman Catholic institution. But any progress that he made by securing Roman Catholic appointments was more than counterbalanced by the opposition which was aroused by his high-handed proceedings. It may seem remarkable that James should have thought it worth while to trouble himself so much with the two universities. Probably it was because young men were trained at these places to become clergy of the Church of England. If a thoroughly Roman Catholic atmosphere could be established at the universities, the supply of clergy to the Church would, in future, consist of men with strong leanings to the Roman Catholic faith. Such men throughout the country would teach their people the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and in course of time James's aim of bringing in that faith would be achieved.

To further his designs the King re-established in 1686 the Ecclesiastical Commission Court, which had been abolished in 1641 by the Long Parliament. This action was quite illegal, but during the two or three years of its existence the court supported him in the work he was doing.

In 1687, finding the opposition of Tories and Churchmen to his plans growing ever stronger, James schemed to ally Dissenters with Catholics against the Church. Dissenters were still suffering from the cruel laws of the Clarendon Code, and the King issued a Declaration of Indulgence by which all penal laws relating to religion were to be suspended. The power which he thus claimed was the Suspending Power, which is not to be confused with the Dispensing Power. By the latter the King claimed the right to dispense with the operation of a law in particular cases; by the Suspending Power he claimed the right to suspend the law itself. As the suspension might last for ever, it amounted to a claim that the

King by himself might practically repeal a law, which in fact could be done only by Parliament. But for the time James acted on his claim. Charles II had made a similar claim and had issued a Declaration of Indulgence with a like purpose in 1672. But he withdrew it when he found that public opinion was strongly against it. The two brothers differed in their capacity to gauge the force of public opinion. James found that his Declaration was strongly opposed, by Dissenters as well as by Churchmen. The persecuted Dissenters certainly wanted relief from the cruelty of the law, but they realised fully that the King's action was not in their interest, but in that of the Catholics, and that, if he should carry his schemes through, their lot would be more grievous than ever. But opposition did nothing to make James withdraw the Declaration. Instead, he issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered the clergy to read it in churches on two successive Sundays. Almost to a man they refused, and in the few cases where time-serving clergy (like the Vicar of Bray in the well-known song) read the Declaration the congregation walked out. Samuel Wesley, the father of John Wesley, preached a famous sermon on words from the Book of Daniel, "Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image that thou hast set up." The bishops who were in London, six in number, met Archbishop Sancroft at Lambeth Palace and drew up a petition to the King praying him not to enforce the order to read the Declaration. They crossed the river and went to Whitehall to see the King and present the petition. It was late at night and James had retired to bed, but upon hearing of their arrival he rose and received them. It is probable that he expected to learn from them that the Church was ready to submit to his will. Yet if he really thought this he must have been singularly unable to estimate the strength of the opposition. He was very angry at receiving the petition and described it as a libel. A few days later the Archbishop and the six bishops were arrested and sent to the Tower on a charge of libelling the King. The greatest efforts were made to get together a jury which would convict them, but in spite of this they were acquitted, and their release was the signal for public rejoicings in London and throughout the kingdom.

Public feeling was strongly against the King, but it had not yet reached the point of rebellion. James had an army of

thirteen thousand men, mostly Irish and Roman Catholic, and under Roman Catholic officers, encamped at Hounslow, and this alone would have been sufficient to put down any attempt at revolt. There was, moreover, a widespread feeling that rebellion was not worth while. James was not a young man, and his reign could not last for many years, while at his death he would be succeeded by his daughter Mary, now the Princess of Orange, a Protestant. His proceedings would then be reversed, and his reign being but a "nine days' tyranny" would leave no permanent effect on the country. But the nation learned with astonishment that the Queen, Mary of Modena, had given birth to a son in June, 1688. In the succession a son takes precedence of a daughter, and Mary was no longer next heir to the throne. The infant Prince of Wales would be brought up as a Roman Catholic, and the policy of James would be continued by a line of Roman Catholic kings. In their dismay at the turn affairs had taken many men refused to believe that the young Prince was genuinely the son of James, and tales were told of the infant having been smuggled into the palace in order to cheat the Princess of her rights of succession. Although this was commonly believed at the time it is now generally recognised that the child was really the son of James.

The position was now serious, and seven leading men, including both Whigs and Tories, sent an invitation to the Prince of Orange to come over and deliver the country from the tyranny of James II.

It is necessary before considering the events which followed the invitation to glance briefly at the course of affairs in western Europe. Louis XIV had made peace with the Dutch in 1678, but he was still engaged in developing his plans. Though he was not formally at war, he seized several places west of the Rhine, in the Holy Roman Empire, during the next few years, and succeeded in arousing the apprehension of his neighbours. He revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which in 1598 his grandfather, Henry IV, had granted toleration to the Huguenots, in 1685, and persecution of these French Protestants began. Hundreds of them fled to England, Holland, and Brandenburg, and founded or developed important industries in their new homes. Thus Louis by his bigotry reduced French strength and increased that of his future opponents.

The alarm felt at his encroachments brought about in 1686

the formation of the League of Augsburg, an alliance of the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, many princes of the Empire and, above all, the Dutch, under William of Orange. The aim of the League was to restrict French aggression, and its existence was bound to lead sooner or later to war. But the League was more powerful on paper than in the field. Spain under its King, Charles II, was in decay, the Emperor was in no position to fight on equal terms with France, and the Dutch by themselves would fight stubbornly, but with little hope of destroying Louis' power. The attitude of England was of great importance to the League. If James would join it, it would become a serious menace to French power, for England and Holland were the two maritime powers, and the newly-formed French navy could not be expected to overcome their united fleets. But James was unwilling to abandon the traditional policy of his family. He was Louis' cousin, and, though not so closely in touch with the French King as Charles II had been, was not inclined to oppose him. The League of Augsburg contained Catholic powers—yet William's leadership seemed to give it a Protestant appearance which was distasteful to James. On the other hand, Louis' proceedings for the strengthening of Catholicism in France were such as must meet with James's approval.

Louis was well served by his secret agents and knew very soon that the invitation had been sent to William. He was, of course, prepared to stand by his ally, for the accession of William to the throne of England would mean the adhesion of this country to the League, which Louis would then have to face alone. He intimated to the Dutch that he would not permit them to send an expedition to England. James, however, upon hearing of this, was angry, since it implied that he was in need of French protection, and he showed his annoyance in a communication to Louis. The French King thereupon decided to modify his course of action. He withdrew his fleet from the Channel into port, and he withdrew troops from the north-east border of France, in order to make it easy for William to go to England. He expected that James, in alarm, would appeal to him for help, which he would give at once. He would thus defeat William in England, and would make James feel that he owed his throne to French aid, without which he could not retain it. Louis would thus kill two birds with one stone, and would overwhelm his principal adversary in

the War of the League of Augsburg before that war had properly begun.

But things did not work out in this way. Louis began the Augsburg War by invading the Palatinate, and William, freed from the immediate prospect of having to repel French attack, sailed for England. The easterly wind that carried his ships down the Channel prevented James's fleet from leaving the Thames, and William landed at Brixham, in Tor Bay, and marched to Exeter. For a week or two he received no English help, and he may have wondered if he had been misinformed as to the discontent with James's rule. But the south-west was willing to help as soon as it was sure that William would win. (It had no wish to experience another Bloody Assize.) When men began to join William's army others followed. Very soon he was receiving support from all parts of the country. James's own troops deserted; his officers joined William; his daughter Anne turned against him. The desperate King now made concessions. He abolished the Ecclesiastical Commission Court; he withdrew the Declaration. But it was too late, and as news of William's advance reached him he fled. He was recognised at Sheerness and brought back to London, but a second attempt at flight was more successful, and he reached France. Louis had been expecting James's messenger; he received the King himself.

The causes of the fall of James II are to be found in the whole circumstances of his reign. He acted throughout in defiance of public opinion, the strength of which he was never able to estimate. He acted unconstitutionally in claiming and exercising the Dispensing and Suspending powers. He acted in defiance of the law in establishing the Ecclesiastical Commission Court. He alienated Tories and Churchmen by his attacks on Church and universities. His prosecution of the seven bishops was tyrannical. He attempted to overawe the nation by the maintenance of an army. Yet it is doubtful if the nation would have risen against him had it not been for the birth of his son. The indefinite continuance of his tyranny could not be borne.

Why, however, did William accept the invitation? Until the birth of the Prince of Wales there seemed little reason for him to do so. It would be foolish to risk his life and reputation in an expedition to gain what would come his way in the course of nature before long. But William was most anxious

to secure the inclusion of England in the League of Augsburg, and James's refusal to enter the alliance against Louis seemed to him to afford sufficient reason for him to come to England. William was not eager to obtain the crown of England for its own sake. His heart was in the defence of Holland. By becoming King of England he could secure the permanent alliance of England against France. It was worth his while to make the attempt.

It is to be observed, therefore, that, tyrannical as was James II, arbitrary and unconstitutional as was his rule, the ultimate cause of his fall is not to be found in matters at home, but in his attitude to European affairs. Had he adopted a different foreign policy he might have retained his crown till his death.

CHAPTER XL

COLONIES AND TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

ENGLISH commerce overseas had been very small in amount before the Tudor period, and it was not till the reign of Elizabeth that the English people gave any indication of their coming greatness in seafaring and trade. Some small efforts to establish colonies had been made during the reign of the Virgin Queen, but none was successful, and at her death this country did not possess a single settlement overseas. Other countries had been more energetic or more fortunate. Spain claimed nearly the whole of America, and had actually made extensive settlements in Central and South America. Portugal had a colony in Brazil and a number of trading posts in the East. The Dutch had established settlements on the coasts of Africa and Asia. The French, however, had had little more success than their island neighbours, as their efforts at colonising in North America had failed. In 1580 Portugal had been conquered by Spain, so that Portuguese possessions passed into Spanish hands, and by the end of the century Spain "bestrode the narrow world like a Colossus." She refused to allow her colonies to trade with other countries, which, if they wished to develop foreign trade, must establish trading posts for themselves. England and Holland were both at war with Spain at this time, and neither was inclined to permit her monopoly of Asiatic and American trade to remain unchallenged.

On 31st December, 1600, the last day of the sixteenth century, the English East India Company received from Queen Elizabeth its first charter. This body, which was to become one of the most famous trading companies in the world's history, established a number of factories, or agencies, on the Indian coast during the seventeenth century, including Surat in 1612, Madras in 1639, Bombay (which it received from Charles II) in 1668, and Fort William (Calcutta) in 1696. It attempted with less success to build up a trading connection in the island archipelago to the south-east of Asia, but here it

met with fierce opposition from the Dutch East India Company, which had been established in 1602, and their rivalry culminated in the massacre of Amboyna in 1623. Dutch and English remained bitter competitors for Asiatic trade. The Dutch appeared to be the better equipped for the contest, for their floating tonnage was much greater than that of the English, while their extensive fishing industry produced a race of skilled and determined seamen. But the superior population and resources of this country enabled it to beat its rival in the three wars of the century, and before long Holland was glad to drop commercial competition and accept English protection against the danger from France.

A French East India Company was established in 1664 and some trading posts were secured on the Indian coast. Anglo-French rivalry in India did not develop, however, until the middle of the eighteenth century. In the meantime the two companies traded with the East without serious difficulty. It was an understood thing that peace should prevail between them east of the Cape of Good Hope, even at times when England and France were at war, though, of course, there was no formal agreement to that effect.

Disaster and utter failure attended the efforts to colonise Virginia and Newfoundland in the reign of Elizabeth, but a settlement was established in Virginia in 1607, and was called Jamestown in honour of the King. Farther north, many small "plantations" were made during the first half of the seventeenth century, the most interesting, though not the most important, being Plymouth, which was established by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620. The Massachusetts Company was formed in 1629, and an important colony was started. Before the middle of the century the New England group of colonies was firmly established. The settlers were mostly Puritan, and, except in Rhode Island, they expelled or persecuted any who did not agree with them in matters of faith. The nature of the climate was such as to encourage the labour of white men, and the New England colonies, unlike those farther south, never depended on slave labour. Land was cleared by the efforts of these sturdy pioneers, with their sons and hired workers. Farms were marked out, farmhouses were built, and a living was obtained. The colonists had to maintain ceaseless watch against Indian attack, and, in the backwoods, lived in daily peril. The picture of the settler in a

loghouse, with one hand on his gun while he read his Bible, is true to life. Agriculture was not the only industry. Lumbering was almost equally important, and the fact that timber was so abundant led to the establishment of a shipbuilding industry.

In 1632 a Roman Catholic nobleman, Lord Baltimore, obtained authority from Charles I to establish the colony of Maryland. Although the official religion of the settlement was that of the Church of England, in practice Roman Catholic worship was permitted, and Papists settled there in large numbers. The colony competed with its southern neighbour, Virginia, in the production of tobacco.

Later in the century, in the reign of Charles II, the Carolinas were settled. (They were not so called after the King, but in honour of Charles IX of France, in whose reign, a hundred years earlier, the French had made an unsuccessful attempt to settle there.) South Carolina became the more important, and depended for its labour supply upon imported slaves. As was the case with Virginia, the chief product of the colony was tobacco. Large estates were cultivated, and their proprietors were men of aristocratic birth, who contrasted with the New England settlers in being Anglican and Tory. The colonial capital was Charlestown, named after the King.

Pennsylvania was established by a Quaker, William Penn, in 1681, and most of the settlers were members of the Society of Friends, who were persecuted in England. A large measure of religious toleration was allowed, but laws were passed to restrict drunkenness and gambling and various pastimes which commonly led to these evils.

No account of English colonisation in America in the seventeenth century would be complete without some reference to the West Indies. The earliest settlements were at St. Kitts in 1623 and Barbados in 1625, and many small islands were colonised during the next few years. Jamaica was captured from the Spanish in 1655, and was then, and has remained since, the most important of the English West Indian colonies. Tobacco was at first the chief product of the islands, and the labour of convicts from England and of negro slaves was used in its cultivation. The sugar-cane was, however, introduced, and sugar gradually replaced tobacco as the staple West Indian product, and the islands were valued for the next two hundred years chiefly on account of their production of sugar.

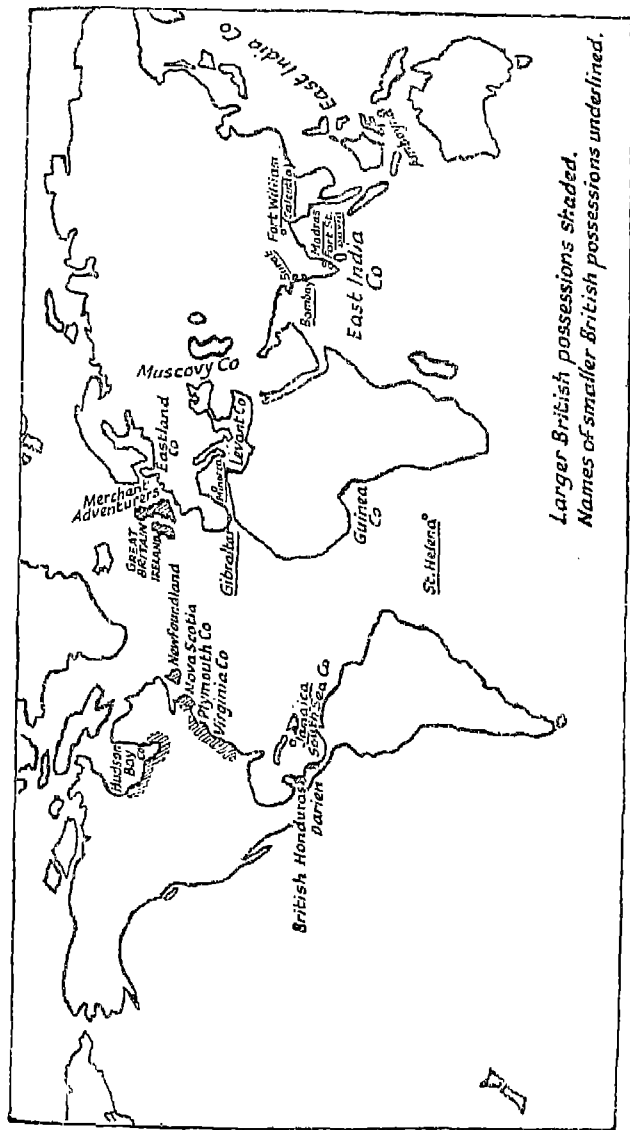
Thus a chain of colonies, mainland and insular, came into

existence during the seventeenth century. These primitive settlements do not seem, at first sight, to have been very important, especially when they are compared with the vast and mighty Dominions which are included in the British Commonwealth to-day. But they were necessarily much smaller, for the England of the seventeenth century had no large surplus of population to send overseas. It should be noticed, also, that these places were either islands or coast settlements. If they extended into the interior they were on the banks of a navigable river. The colonisation of the interiors of new countries was then impossible, because no roads existed by which supplies could be obtained from the coast and by which products could be sent to the coast towns to be exported. The penetration of interiors, whether of America, Africa, or Australia, was impossible until the coming of railways. Isolated exploring parties, of course, could and did find their way for hundreds of miles inland, but no effective interior settlement was possible until well into the nineteenth century.

Nor were the colonies of the seventeenth century regarded by the people of this country as the beginnings of new nations. They were looked upon as outposts of the mother country, and were valued because they produced various important articles which England, for climatic and other reasons, could not produce for herself, and because as they developed they provided markets for the home country's manufactures. It was thought to be right that their trade should be under English-control, and the Navigation Act of 1660 provided that certain colonial products should be sent to England alone. These enumerated articles were usually the most important products of the colony. Non-enumerated products might be sent to foreign countries, but all, whether enumerated or non-enumerated, must be sent in English or colonial ships—ships that were owned by Englishmen or colonials, commanded by an English or colonial skipper, and of which three-quarters of the crew were English or colonial. The mother-country thought it was quite reasonable that she should enjoy privileges in connection with colonial trade, in view of the fact that she had been put to the expense of founding the colonies and was still responsible for their defence. And the system was not without its advantages to the settlers, who were sure of a market and a fair price for their products. English merchants profited by the purchase of colonial produce and its re-sale

to foreign countries which required it but were not allowed to buy it direct. While the colonies were small this "Old Colonial System" worked well, and if the settlers felt no great love for their mother country there was on the other hand no great dissatisfaction. English control over the colonies, apart from rights over trade and responsibility for defence, extended to the appointment of a governor, but in other respects the settlers were left to themselves, and they enjoyed a large measure of freedom. In many cases they were politically more advanced than England was, for the colonial assemblies, which made laws, really represented the people, which was not the case with Parliament in England.

English trade overseas in the seventeenth century, whether with the colonies or foreign countries, was carried on by great trading companies, and the individual trader, or interloper, was discouraged. These companies possessed charters granted by the Crown, and they enjoyed a monopoly of the trade between England and the part of the world mentioned in their charters. One of the earliest of these companies had been the Merchant Adventurers, who carried on North Sea and Baltic trade, but they were of less importance in the seventeenth century than formerly. The Muscovy Company, or Russia Company, had been chartered by Elizabeth, as had the Levant Company, or Turkey Company, which traded with the Eastern Mediterranean. The East India Company's monopoly extended from the Cape of Good Hope eastwards to Cape Horn, and included, therefore, trade with all countries which fringed the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The Guinea Company opened up trade and made small settlements in West Africa. The Hudson's Bay Company was founded in the reign of Charles II under the patronage of Prince Rupert.

For several reasons it was thought that company trading was to be preferred to individual effort. Much of this commerce was with remote lands, amid people of strange ways and language. An interloper going to such regions to trade might not hesitate to use violence and fraud, trickery and deceit, in order to secure the greatest possible profit. He might make a fortune in a single voyage. That he would destroy the good name of his race among the people he visited would not disturb him, since some other trader who reached the same place would suffer for his sins. But a company would not follow such a policy. Its trade would be carried on year after year,

BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN 1714
Together with the chief Trading Companies and the regions covered by their monopolies.

and it would be anxious to build up and maintain a good reputation for honesty and fair dealing. It would claim, and with justice, that this reputation ought not to be imperilled by the proceedings of interlopers. A company would be more powerful than an interloper and might obtain, from the ruler of the land visited, special privileges which would be denied to the solitary merchant. The voyage over the seas was full of peril. Almost from port to port the merchant ship was in danger from pirates, who swarmed in all parts. A company, however, could take more effective measures against these miscreants by arming its ships and by sending them together for mutual protection. The Government, too, found the company system preferable to that of trade carried on by a host of private adventurers. Duties had to be levied and rules made. To deal with a large company in such matters was easy. The company would not conceal its cargoes nor stoop to smuggling, since it dared not offend the Government which had issued, and might revoke, its charter.

But the interloper was never quite put down. He represented the daring, adventurous spirit of the nation. The company was solid and respectable; the interloper might, if occasion offered, indulge in a little piracy. The companies held their own during the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century they decayed, and to an increasing extent the trade of this country passed into the hands of private merchants.

English colonial trade policy was not singular. Other countries, especially France and Spain, controlled the trade of their colonies even more rigidly than did England. The whole of Spanish colonial trade was carried on with a single privileged commercial house at Seville. Not only was no colonial trade permitted with foreign countries; it was not even allowed with other Spanish merchants. But Englishmen from the time of John Hawkins had aimed at securing a share in the profits of colonial trade, and the Spanish settlers in the New World were quite willing to do business with these alien interlopers. The Spanish Government tried, with varying success, to prevent such trade, but in the second half of the seventeenth century Spain was growing rapidly weaker, and the English adventurer, half trader and half pirate, met with only occasional opposition. By the end of the century it was felt in mercantile circles that this trade was important enough

to be recognised and above-board. From 1702 to 1713 England was at war with Spain in the Spanish Succession War, and by the peace made in 1713 Great Britain was permitted to send one ship of six hundred tons every year to trade at Porto Bello, and was given for thirty years the valuable monopoly of the supply of negro slaves to Spanish colonies. The Spanish colonial trade monopoly was at last beginning to break down.

CHAPTER XLI

THE REVOLUTION

WITH the flight of James and the approach of the Prince of Orange to London a remarkable state of affairs existed. The newcomer was not yet King; he was a foreign invader. The King had gone. Therefore England was for the moment without a King, and had no form of government at all. This fact gave the lowest classes in the City of London an opportunity for disorder of which they took advantage. But upon William's arrival in London a meeting was held of the peers who were in London at the time, together with men who had been in any Parliament of Charles II and James II, and also the Lord Mayor of London. This meeting asked William to carry on the government and to call a Convention, and he agreed to do so. He quickly restored order, and in about three weeks the Convention, a Parliament in every way except that it was not summoned by a King, met at Westminster.

The business of the Convention was, of course, to settle the future government of the country. In the Commons the Whigs were in the majority. They held no belief in Divine Right, and were ready and eager to apply the principles of the Test Act to the Crown, as they had tried to do ten years earlier in the Exclusion Bill. This seemed to them to be a golden opportunity to declare the deposition of James II, to make it impossible for Roman Catholics to ascend the throne in future, and to get Parliament to elect a King. Such a King would certainly have no Divine Right. He would be appointed, not by God, but by Parliament. And if Parliament could appoint and depose kings it was clearly superior to kings, and the great question of the Stuart Period was settled.

But there was a Tory majority in the House of Lords, and the Tories believed in Divine Right. Yet Tories had joined with Whigs in opposing James II and neither wanted him back. The Tories, in fact, wanted to bring about a solution of the problem which, while excluding James, would not strain

their principles too much. Some wished to sentence James to perpetual exile, although permitting him to retain the empty title of King; in this case the Prince of Orange was to be appointed Regent for the absentee monarch. Others thought it possible to treat James, in view of his recent acts, as a madman; in this case, too, a regency would be permissible. Others, however, would go farther, and regard James as dead. He was not dead, but a kind of legal, fictitious death might be presumed. If this course should be followed, the next in succession would take the throne. This was Mary (if the infant Prince of Wales was treated as an adopted and not an actual son of James), and William would be Prince Consort.

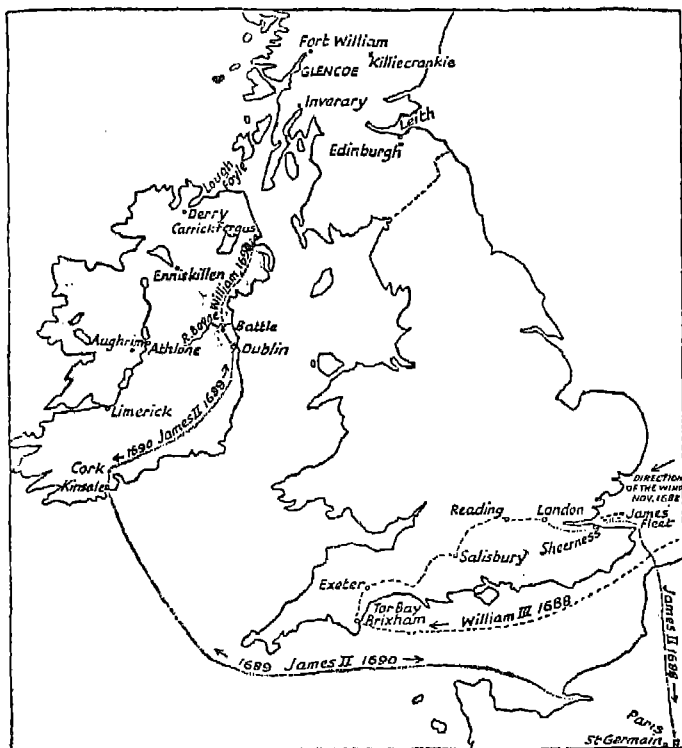
It is to be noticed that all these proposed solutions would lead to the same actual result. All parties wanted William to be the ruler of the country, whether as King, Prince Consort, or Prince Regent. All realised that if William returned to Holland, James would come back with a French army. He would be restored to the throne, and a Bloody Assize would take place compared with which that of 1685 would be insignificant. At all costs, therefore, William must be induced to remain. The two Houses agreed in passing a resolution to the effect that "It hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince." The Commons further resolved that "James the Second by his flight hath abdicated the throne, and the throne is thereby vacant." But the Lords changed the word "abdicated" to "deserted," and omitted the second clause. These changes were important. If, as the Commons contended, the throne was vacant, Parliament could elect a new King. But if, as the Lords maintained, the throne was not vacant, then either James was King or his daughter Mary was Queen, and William would be either Prince Regent or Prince Consort. The two Houses could not agree and William himself sent for the Whig and Tory leaders. He made no demands, but he told them that he would not be Regent for an absentee King, and he would not be "gentleman usher" to his wife. They saw that he would be King or he would leave the country. The matter was settled by conferring the crown on William and Mary jointly—a device that was employed in order to meet the views of both parties as far as might be. The recognition of Mary as Queen was a concession to Tory views of Divine Right, while the fact

that the crown was offered to William and Mary by Parliament satisfied the Whigs. Mary's position was not that of a Queen Consort, who is Queen merely because she is the wife of a King. She was Queen Regnant, as Elizabeth had been, but in fact she left the work of government to her husband.

Before the actual offer of the crown was made, a Declaration of Right was drawn up and presented to the Prince and Princess of Orange. It enumerated certain actions and claims of James II and declared them to be illegal. Excessive and cruel punishments, the pretended Ecclesiastical Commission Court, the Suspending Power, the Dispensing Power "as it hath been used and exercised of late," the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace without consent of Parliament, were among the things pronounced to be illegal. It was necessary to draw up and present this to William and Mary before the offer of the crown was made, as it was really a statement of the conditions upon which it was to be given. William and Mary accepted the Declaration, and thereupon the crown was offered to and accepted by them. The Convention was declared to be a proper Parliament, and one of its first acts was the enactment of the Declaration of Right as a law, known as the Bill of Rights. Until this was done it was not a law, since it was merely a document drawn up by a Convention, and accepted by the Prince and Princess of Orange. But when it was enacted by Parliament and assented to by the King and Queen it became a law.

The Bill of Rights provided for the succession by ordering that the joint reign of William and Mary should be followed by that of the survivor, and that their children should then succeed. If Mary outlived William and married again, her children would come next in succession. Then were to come her sister Anne and her children, and, lastly, the children of William by another wife, if he should outlive Mary and marry again. This would seem to be ample provision for the succession, for though William and Mary had no children the Princess Anne was the mother of a large family. Her children died, however, and within a dozen years it was found necessary to provide further against a failure of the succession.

The question of national finance was settled in a satisfactory way at last. Hitherto the King's income had been the fund out of which he had to maintain himself and govern the country. It was decided to keep these matters separate in future. An

income was allowed to the King for his personal maintenance, and this was voted to him for life and was called the Civil List. Money required for the work of government was, however, voted for much shorter periods, and it soon became the practice

THE REVOLUTION

to make these grants for a year only at a time. Parliament had effectually controlled the raising of money since the Restoration, for its right to do so had not been disputed by the Crown in any way since that event. It now obtained the right of supervising national expenditure, and it made this control complete by appropriating supplies and by auditing accounts. By Appropriation of Supplies was meant the granting of sums

of money for particular purposes, instead of giving it for government in general and leaving it to the whim of king or minister to use it in any way he liked. The Audit of Accounts was an examination, after the money had been spent, to ascertain if the will of Parliament had been carried out. It is clear from these arrangements that it would be necessary for Parliament to meet every year in future.

The Whigs had for many years been trying to bring about toleration for Protestant Dissenters. These men still suffered under the harsh laws of the Clarendon Code. They had behaved nobly in the constitutional crisis. They had refused, when they might have been excused for accepting, the spurious toleration offered them by James II in the Declaration of Indulgence. They were now, by the Toleration Act of 1689, granted the right to worship in their own way. Their conventicles were no longer to be illegal assemblies. They were not yet, however, made eligible for membership of corporations. William himself had hoped for more than this. As a Dutchman he had strong Puritan sympathies, and he wished for a reconciliation to take place between Churchmen and Dissenters by which the latter could find their way back into the Church. But this proved to be impossible, and toleration, and not "comprehension," was to be the religious policy of the future.

The question of the army remained to be settled. Paper safeguards against royal tyranny were without value if a king could keep a standing army with which he could enforce his will. The Whigs were strongly opposed to a standing army. Yet to disband the army on the eve of a war with France (for Louis would certainly try to restore James) would be madness. The difficulty was overcome by Parliament passing a "Mutiny Act," authorising the continuance of the army and the maintenance of military discipline for a period of six months. Before its expiration the Mutiny Act was extended for a year, and Parliament has continued it year by year until to-day. (After 1881 the Act was called the Army Act, and it is now called the Army and Air Force Act.) The army thus remained under parliamentary control, and it became necessary for Parliament to meet every year in order that the act might be renewed.

The course of affairs in Scotland followed to a great extent that in England. It was by no means inevitable that this should be so. Scotland was not joined to England by anything

more than the personal union of the crowns. James's flight to France might be taken by the Scots to mean nothing more than that their King had gone to live in one foreign country instead of another. And no Scottish invitation had been sent to William. But the Scots had suffered much since 1660. The Episcopal Church was hated, and the Covenanters had been persecuted. Scots, therefore, gladly seized the chance of throwing off the Stuart yoke. In the Lowlands the news of the flight of James was celebrated by popular risings against the clergy of the Church of Scotland, who were maltreated and driven from their homes.

William sent a small force under Hugh Mackay, a Scot in his service, to the northern kingdom to restore order. As in England, a Convention was summoned to meet at Edinburgh to consider the state of affairs. Some supporters of James were in the Convention, but finding themselves in a minority they withdrew, under Graham of Claverhouse, to the Highlands. The Convention declared that James VII had forfeited the crown. It drew up a Claim of Right, and presented it to William and Mary, who accepted it, and were thereupon offered the joint sovereignty of Scotland. Thus Scotland followed the example of England closely, but the Claim of Right was accompanied by a declaration that the Church of Scotland should be Presbyterian in future.

The followers of James, who were henceforth known as Jacobites (the Latin word for "James" is "Jacobus"), now endeavoured to rouse the Highlands. The clansmen were ignorant of political affairs, and cared nothing for English party struggles, though the chiefs were often men of education and culture, some of them having been brought up in France, and remaining devotees of the Roman Catholic faith. But the smaller clans were jealous and fearful of the Campbells, at the head of whom was the Duke of Argyll, a Whig and a supporter of William. They responded to the appeal of Claverhouse and at the Battle of Killiecrankie they charged with such effect as to throw back Mackay's small force in disorder. But Claverhouse was slain, and the clansmen no longer held together, but returned to their homes. Mackay re-formed his troops and gained all the advantages of victory, and marched into the Highlands, where he called upon all chieftains to recognise William's authority by taking an oath of allegiance by the 31st December, 1691. All did so except

MacIan, chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and he intended to do so. He presented himself on the last day at Fort William, in Argyllshire, only to be told that the nearest place at which the oath could be taken was Inverary. This he did not reach until the 6th January, 1692, when he took the oath. The matter was placed, and perhaps misrepresented, before the King by Sir John Dalrymple, who obtained from William an order for the extirpation of the clan. The order was put in Campbell hands and a number of men of the latter clan visited the Macdonalds as friends. By night the massacre began, and most of the Macdonalds were slain, or escaped to the hills, only to perish of cold or starvation. This barbarous incident remained for some time unknown in England, but when it became known much indignation was felt and expressed. Nothing was done, however, beyond the dismissal of Dalrymple from the King's service.

Ireland was ruled by Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconell, as Lord Lieutenant of King James. As the bulk of the Irish were Roman Catholic they did not look upon James's Catholicising zeal in England with disfavour. When James fled to France and was given shelter by his cousin Louis, he expected to receive French help towards the recovery of his lost crown, and he decided to begin with Ireland, as he was most likely to be received with enthusiasm there. It was a strategic error. If he had succeeded in Ireland he would still have had to conquer England and Scotland, where William would have had time to consolidate his position. If, on the other hand, he had attacked England with a French army at his back, he might possibly have achieved some success, and, if by any chance he had recovered his crown, the reduction of Ireland would have presented no difficulty.

James landed at Kinsale with some French troops, and marched to Dublin. But he soon found that Tyrconell and the Irish cared less for him than for the complete destruction of English power in Ireland, and that the only common bond between him and the Irish was the Roman Catholic religion. The Protestant minority, on the other hand, wanted to maintain the English connection, and looked to William of Orange as their protector. James called a Parliament at Dublin, of which nearly every member was a Roman Catholic. It repealed the Act of Settlement of 1661, and thus deprived English settlers of their lands. It passed an Act of Attainder

against about two thousand three hundred leading Protestants, all of whom were to be put to death, and it was understood that this list might be followed by others. But it was necessary to catch these men before hanging them, and the threatened Protestants, who had lost their lands and were in danger of losing their lives, fled to Derry and Enniskillen, in the province of Ulster. At these two places they offered the most determined resistance to the efforts of the French and Irish to capture them. The walls of Derry were crumbling and the authorities of the town were in secret touch with the enemy. But a clergyman, George Walker, took charge of the defence and inspired the townsfolk to resist until the boom across the Foyle was shattered by relief ships from London. The siege was then raised. The defenders of Enniskillen made a sortie and defeated their opponents at the Battle of Newton Butler. Meanwhile, William had sent a small force under Marshal Schomberg to Ireland. It encamped on the banks of the River Boyne, and in 1690 William himself crossed over with reinforcements and assumed command. James with his French and Irish troops opposed his son-in-law, and for the first and last time the two Kings were face to face in battle. James was defeated and fled to Dublin, whence by way of Kinsale he returned to France. The outcome of the struggle in Ireland was now assured. William remained for a time in command of the Protestant forces, but at length he left the task of completing the conquest to Ginkel and Churchill. Nearly two years elapsed before the stubborn resistance of the Irish, who were reinforced by the arrival of another French army under Saint-Ruth, was overcome, but with the capture of Limerick in 1691 the struggle ended.

By the Treaty of Limerick a reasonable settlement of the points at issue was reached. The Irish who had fought against William were offered the choice of entering his service, laying down their arms, or going abroad. Many chose this last course, and Louis XIV had an Irish Brigade in his army for many years. It was also arranged that Roman Catholic worship should be permitted to the same extent as in the reign of Charles II. But in this matter it was afterwards held that Ginkel had exceeded his powers. In 1695 a meeting of the Irish Parliament, containing mostly Protestants, was held, and it passed a number of laws which greatly restricted the liberty hitherto enjoyed by Roman Catholics.

The Revolution is regarded, and rightly so, as one of the

outstanding events in English history. It is to be noted, however, that it is equally important in the general history of Europe. Since the days of Elizabeth, England and France had been on generally friendly terms, since both were opposed to Spain. While England had been one of the leading Reformation powers, Spain had been the champion of the Roman Catholic Church. But Spain was declining, and for a time the function of extending the Counter-Reformation seemed to be falling on France, with England, under the later Stuarts, to assist her. But the Revolution changed all that. With the Dutch Stadtholder as King of England nothing but enmity could exist between England and France. England joined the League of Augsburg, which now became a reality, and entered the war which followed. No other course was possible. Louis was determined to restore James if he could, and England was bound to fight to keep James out. The hostility of England and France towards each other which began with the fall of the Stuarts continued for a century and a quarter. During this period the two countries were involved in seven great wars, and though, apparently, various circumstances led to these wars, they were really due to the same fundamental cause throughout. France was the leading industrial country in Europe in the time of Louis XIV, but the industries of this country were developing, and she wanted new markets for her goods and new sources from which to draw raw materials. The eighteenth century saw a conflict between England and France for mastery at sea, in trade, and in colonial empire.

If the Revolution of 1689 was the signal for the beginning of a struggle with France for supremacy, at home it marked the close of another struggle for supremacy. The great question which dominated affairs in the Stuart period was settled at last. There was no longer any question of superiority as between Crown and Parliament, for the Revolution decided it. Parliament had deposed a king and had appointed another and had laid down conditions on which the new king should accept the crown. No longer could an English king claim Divine Right, for it was evident that he was appointed not by God but by Parliament. That the king was a highly-placed official who could be removed by those who had appointed him could no longer be denied. The supremacy of Parliament was complete.

During the century the position and powers of Parliament

itself had changed to a remarkable degree. At the beginning of the period it possessed only limited powers. Its consent was necessary to changes in law and direct taxation, but its right to discuss various aspects of national policy was disputed, and its very existence was dependent on the goodwill of the king. Since the Revolution it has been able to express and enforce its will in all matters of national concern. It has controlled national income and national expenditure. It has been an essential part of the machinery of government and has secured the right of meeting regularly—for if in any year Parliament should fail to meet, the Army Act would not be renewed and the army would come to an end, and there would be no grants of public money to carry on the government for the year. From being relatively unimportant in 1603, it has become incontestably the supreme power in the State since 1689.

The Revolution is a landmark in the history of religion in this country. Until 1689 it was still assumed that all Englishmen were, or should be, of the same religion, and penalties were imposed on those who would not conform to the religion of the State. But after the Revolution the right of Englishmen to choose their own form of religion was recognised, and the Government no longer attempted to preserve ecclesiastical unity.

From very early times it had been held that Church and State in England were one. They were two aspects of the same thing. All Englishmen belonged to the National Church, and it was regarded as the duty of an Englishman to accept the religion which the State put before him. To doubt it or to refuse to accept it was a kind of disloyalty. This view had prevailed throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods when various changes were being made. Except for the one great reform made by Henry VIII, the establishment of royal in place of papal supremacy over the Church, these changes were not very deep, and Englishmen were expected to obey their king in this as in other matters. But the stubborn refusal of the Puritans to be reconciled with the Established Church showed that to try to maintain unity was a hopeless task, and since the Revolution the Church of England, instead of being the State, has become a religious society within the State.

The Revolution was not without its effect upon the future relationship of the three kingdoms which were included in the British Isles. They were still separate, but Scotland had

followed England's lead in the Revolution, and this fact paved the way to a definite union on fair terms between England and Scotland within twenty years. Ireland, on the other hand, supported James, and was defeated, with the result that she was kept in a position of subordination for more than a century, and when at length a union was effected its terms were by no means satisfactory to the Irish.

Important though the Revolution of 1689 was, it is possible to overstate its significance. It was not the first time that a king had lost his crown. On the earlier occasion, in 1649, the king had lost his head as well, but the experiment then tried, of putting a king to death, had not worked well. It had been followed by a reaction, and the restoration of the deposed line. Englishmen in 1689 were merely repeating what had been tried before, but they were trying at the same time to profit by the mistake of their predecessors. On this occasion they deprived the king of his crown only, and let him pass into exile instead of to death. The fact that various efforts made in the next sixty years completely failed to restore the Stuart line indicates the greater wisdom of the more merciful policy.

CHAPTER XLII

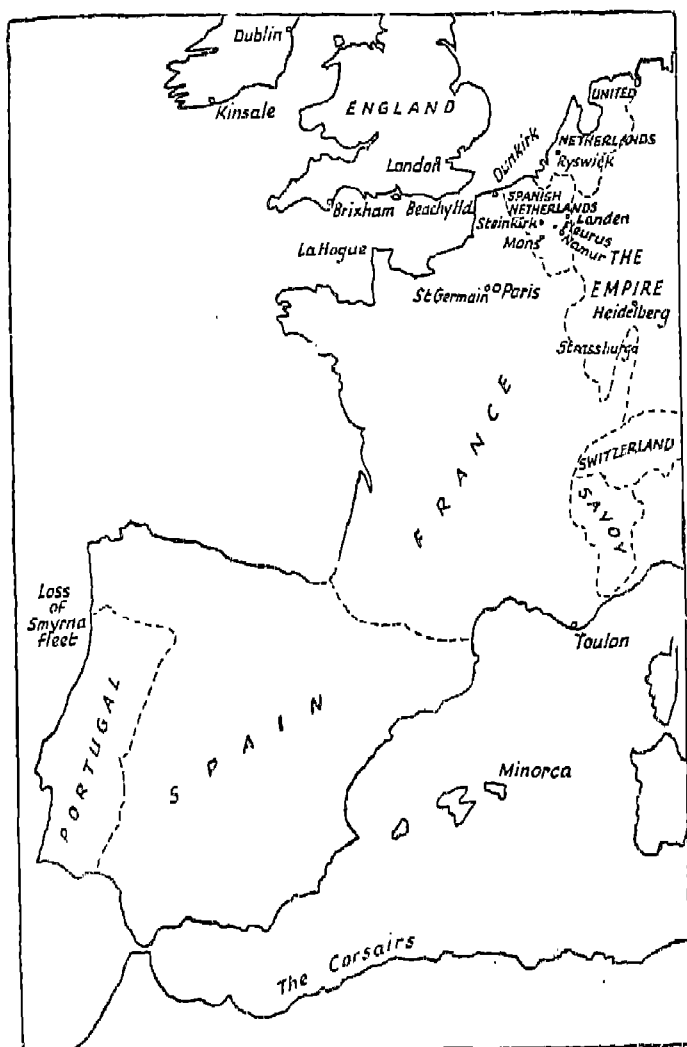
THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG

It has been stated already that the aggressions of Louis XIV had caused great alarm among neighbouring powers, and that the League of Augsburg had been formed in 1686 to oppose him. Although the League included the Emperor, Spain, Holland, and Brandenburg, it was too weak to be effective. Indeed, William's purpose in accepting the invitation to England was to secure the adhesion of this country to the League, which only then could become a menace to the French King. Louis, for reasons explained in an earlier chapter, refrained from attacking Holland, and began the war in 1688 by invading the Palatinate. The success of William's expedition and the flight of James from England to France caused him to withdraw his troops and devote his resources to the work of undoing what had happened. The campaign of 1689 in Ireland may, therefore, be regarded as the opening move in the war between France and the League—a war which is sometimes called the War of the English Succession.

It says a good deal for French strength that Louis was able, undismayed, to face a combination of all the other powers of Europe. His army was large, well organised, and undefeated. France was prosperous, and had a much larger population than any of her enemies—nearly as large, perhaps, as the combined populations opposed to her. But until Louis' reign the French navy had been small. Colbert, Louis' minister, had planned the building of a fleet, but it was doubtful how far the infant French navy could hold its own against the combined squadrons of the maritime powers. The matter was put to the test in 1690, when at the Battle of Beachy Head the English and Dutch fleets under Admiral Herbert, Lord Torrington, were defeated by the French under Tourville. The English left the brunt of the fighting to the Dutch, who were severely mauled, while Torrington retreated with his ships to the shelter of the Thames. It is not a creditable incident in English naval

annals, and for a time William's throne was in grave danger. If Louis had known how to use his victory he might have achieved his object of restoring James. But the French had just been defeated in Ireland. Time was lost, and nothing was ready for an invasion of England. By 1692, at the stubbornly contested Battle of La Hogue, Russell avenged the former defeat by overcoming Tourville. The English fleet again commanded the Channel and the danger of invasion was past. English commerce, however, suffered at the hands of French warships and privateers. A very heavy blow was struck by the French in 1693, when the Smyrna fleet was destroyed. A large number of vessels trading with the Levant left England in convoy, adequately escorted. The danger of attack from the French was supposed to be past when the Bay of Biscay was left behind, and only four frigates continued to accompany the fleet beyond Cape Finisterre, the remainder of the escorting ships returning to England. But a French fleet appeared and attacked the convoy. The four frigates fought gallantly, but hopelessly, and nearly all the merchant vessels were captured or sunk.

In 1694 a gallant but unsuccessful attempt was made to capture Toulon. The English fleet had no base in the Mediterranean, and, fighting so far from home, with no chance of receiving reinforcements, it could hardly make a sustained attack or maintain a blockade.

The fighting on land took place mainly in the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium). Louis' forces were commanded by Luxemburg, a competent general, who, however, was not so brilliant as Turenne and Condé, the French leaders in earlier wars, had been. But Luxemburg had the assistance of Vauban, a great military engineer, who was a genius in the art of fortification. Luxemburg defeated his enemies at the Battle of Fleurus in 1690. In 1692 William was free to command the allied forces in the Netherlands. He was not a great general, but he possessed to the full the qualities of his race. If he was slow he was also patient; if he was not brilliant he was obstinate. Though he was defeated he gave way but little, and speedily re-formed his scattered ranks. In 1692 the French captured Namur and defeated William at the Battle of Steinkirk. In the next year they followed up this victory by securing another at Landen, or Neerwinden. But William's forces withdrew in good order on each occasion, and they did not withdraw far. In 1695 William retrieved his

THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG

losses by the recapture of Namur. It was the greatest military exploit of his life, it restored the confidence of his troops and of the English nation in his military capacity, and it convinced Louis that out-and-out victory was not to be expected. The French King, therefore, was willing to treat for peace, which was concluded in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick. Louis agreed to give up everything which he had taken since the Treaty of Nijmegen, in 1678, except Strassburg (captured in 1681), and he agreed to recognise William as King of Great Britain.

The peace thus made was hardly in Louis' favour. The conquests which he agreed to give up had been made in the Rhine region at the expense of various princes of the Holy Roman Empire. For the second time his attempt to chastise the Dutch had resulted in complete failure, not an acre of Dutch territory passing to his rule. And this time he had to accept the humiliation of recognising his principal enemy as King of Great Britain in place of his cousin James. Yet Louis had not been decisively defeated. Though his fleet had been checked at La Hogue and though the fortress of Namur had fallen, his resources were large, and he was capable of continuing the struggle indefinitely. But Louis saw that a greater question was rising above the European horizon. The succession to the throne of Spain would soon demand attention, and he desired to end this wearisome and profitless war in order to devote his whole energies to the task of securing the Empire of Spain.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE RULE OF WILLIAM III

THROUGHOUT his reign William III experienced more than ordinary difficulty in ruling his new country. He was a foreigner, the ruler of a nation with which England had fought three wars within the memory of many living men. He was silent and ungracious in manner and his health was rarely good, and he made no effort to combat the unpopularity which he felt to exist for him in England. He disliked England and accepted its crown only as a means of securing its alliance. Yet having taken upon himself the responsibility of ruling England he honestly tried to do his duty to the country, and he frankly recognised the limitation imposed by Parliament upon his power.

Not the least of his troubles arose from the fact that the exiled King still had many supporters in England. Some who had assisted in the expulsion of James now seemed to feel that things had gone too far, and they schemed for his return. The Tory party as a whole did not wish for James's restoration, though probably it would not actively have opposed it. But notions of Divine Right were not extinct, and the extreme Tories were disloyal to William and kept up secret communication with James. These men, known as Jacobites, were ready at any time to involve themselves in any plot which should have for its object a second Stuart restoration.

Many of the Church clergy felt themselves to be in a difficulty. They had taken the oath of allegiance to James, recognising him as head of the Church. They were now called upon to take an oath recognising William, and some of them objected that they could not do so consistently with their former oath, since James was still alive. Those who refused were expelled from their posts in the Church. These Non-Jurors included Archbishop Sancroft and about half the bishops, in addition to a few hundreds of the parish clergy. New appointments were made, Tillotson becoming Archbishop

of Canterbury. The fact that the lay people of the Church were not called upon to take the oath probably accounts for the fact that few of them supported the deprived clergy. These latter, however, were not satisfied with having made their protest. They regarded themselves as the true Church of England, and continued the succession of clergy by fresh ordinations of bishops, priests, and deacons from time to time, so that the Non-Juring movement did not die out for nearly a century. These clergy were supported by wealthy Jacobites, in whose families they lived as chaplains, tutors, librarians, and secretaries.

The invitation to William had borne the signatures of both Whigs and Tories, and the settlement of the Crown in the Convention had been the work of both parties. It seemed good to William, therefore, to choose his ministers from the leading men of both parties, so that he might be regarded as King of the whole nation, and not of one party only. This plan was continued for the first half of the reign. But by 1694 William was beginning to realise that the Tories were only lukewarm in supporting him and the war and that he must look to the Whigs alone for assistance. During the next two years the Tories were, one by one, replaced by Whigs, and by 1696 the whole of the ministry was Whig. This change of attitude on the King's part is indicated by his accepting the Triennial Act in 1694, by which no Parliament was to last more than three years. Hitherto he had refused to agree to this proposal, which was supported by the Whigs.

Queen Mary took no active part in political life, leaving the actual rule to her husband. She did not share his unpopularity, and her death from smallpox in 1694 caused the most profound grief to King and nation.

The Jacobites remained active, and plots were hatched from time to time against William. The most dangerous of these was the Assassination Plot of 1696. It was discovered, and Sir John Fenwick, a notable Jacobite concerned in it, was put to death. For the moment William was almost popular, and when a Bond of Association was sanctioned by Parliament for his protection thousands of Englishmen of all classes subscribed to it.

The expenses of the war were heavy, and Parliament was called upon to make much larger grants of money than ever before. William's finance minister was Charles Montagu,

afterwards Earl of Halifax. In 1692 Montagu secured the consent of Parliament to a land tax of four shillings in the pound on the annual value of land, and in spite of the opposition of Tory landowners this tax was for many years an important feature of the country's financial system. More money was required, however, and Montagu resorted to borrowing. The new loans differed from those which had been raised by earlier kings in that there was no undertaking to repay them within a limited period. But the interest on them was guaranteed by Parliament, and they are regarded as the beginning of the National Debt. In 1693 Montagu borrowed one million pounds, promising interest at eight per cent, and in 1694 the original lenders were allowed to form a bank, known as the Bank of England, which was given the special privilege of managing future loans on behalf of the Government. The arrangement proved to be a great success. By the end of the reign the debt amounted to £16,000,000. The Bank of England was, however, for many years regarded as a Whig institution, and the efforts of the Tories to establish a Land Bank in opposition to it, in 1698, failed. In 1695 the coinage, which was much worn and clipped, was called in and replaced by a new issue of coins with milled edges. The expense of the change was heavy, but within a few years the beneficial effect on the country's trade more than counter-balanced the cost which had been incurred.

From 1696 to 1700 William's ministers were Whig. This was the first time that a ministry composed of men of one party only had been formed. The leading men of this "Junto" were Russell, the victor of La Hogue, now Earl of Orford, Somers, Lord Chancellor, Montagu, who became Earl of Halifax in 1700, and Wharton. But as time went on William relied to an increasing extent on his Dutch friends. He knew that many leading men in England were in touch with James. Even some of the Whigs were suspect in this matter. William could trust the Dutch.

After the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 the House of Commons contained a Tory majority. In the Mutiny Act of 1698 Parliament reduced the strength of the army to ten thousand men, and in 1699, by insisting on the departure of the Dutch Guards to Holland, to seven thousand. To the King these reductions were disastrous, for he, as well as Louis, regarded the peace as a mere preliminary to the greater war of the Spanish

Succession, which was bound to come at no distant time. The dismissal of his guards was too much for even his patience, and he prepared to abdicate. If his guards must go he would accompany them. Only the urgent entreaties of his ministers caused him to reconsider the matter.

By 1700 William realised that a Whig ministry could no longer carry affairs on while the majority of the House of Commons was Tory, and he replaced the Junto by Tory ministers who held office till 1702. Shortly before his death a new House of Commons, containing Whigs and Tories in almost equal numbers, was elected, and he dismissed some of the Tory ministers and put Whigs in their place.

In the development of the British Constitution the reign of William III is important on account of two constitutional principles which came to the front. Neither was regarded as finally settled, and many years elapsed before they were taken for granted. It was found by experience that it was difficult for the country to be ruled by a mixed ministry, and the principle of Party Government came into being. And it was also found that the choice of the party from which ministers must be selected could not be left to the king; it must be the party which commanded a majority in the House of Commons. Yet these principles must not be regarded as of the same kind as those in the Bill of Rights, as, for example, that the sovereign must not be a Papist. These are legal rules; they form part of the Law of the Constitution. Those stated above are not rules of law; they are called conventions, and they form part of the Custom of the Constitution. To disregard them would be to break no law, but they have come to be recognised so completely that if they were not observed the Government could not be continued on the system which exists to-day. Without them the British Constitution would be something totally unlike what it is at present.

Before William's death the question of the succession to the throne caused some anxiety. Apparently it had been amply provided for in the Bill of Rights. But Mary was dead and had left no children. It was most unlikely that William would remarry. The succession, therefore, could be carried on only by the Princess Anne and her children. She had married Prince George of Denmark in 1680, and had had a very large number of children, all of whom died young. Only one of her children seemed to have any chance of growing up. He

was born in 1689 and was named William, after the King, who conferred on him the title of Duke of Gloucester. But he died in 1700, and it became certain that at the death of Anne the succession as arranged in the Bill of Rights would fail. Further provision was necessary, and the Act of Settlement was passed in 1701. It conferred the crown, after the death of Anne, upon Sophia, Dowager Electress of Hanover, a daughter of that Elector and Electress Palatine whose troubles were so prominent during the Thirty Years War, and a granddaughter of James I, and, after her, upon her descendants, being Protestants. The Act stated emphatically that the sovereign must be Protestant, and must be in communion with the Church of England, and further stated that a Papist, or any person married to a Papist, should be excluded. It may be noted that Sophia was not the only child, nor was she the eldest child, of her parents. But others had embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and she was selected because she had not. The Act of Settlement was, however, badly drawn up, and the rules about the sovereign's religion were not nearly so complete and effective as they were meant to be. The sovereign was required to take an oath that he was a Protestant when he ascended the throne, but there was nothing in the Act to prevent his subsequent conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Then, too, although the sovereign might not marry a Papist, the Act did not say how the religion of the king's wife was to be ascertained, for the lady was not called upon to make any declaration or to take any oath on the matter.

The Act might have ended with the new provisions for the succession and the safeguards against the accession of a Roman Catholic. But the opportunity was taken of enacting that judges should not be dismissed from their posts except for gross misconduct. Hitherto the judges of the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer had been appointed by the king, and were liable to dismissal by him at any time. It is evident that if cases came before the judges in which the king was interested (and many such cases did come before them during the Stuart period), their decisions might be influenced by the fact that the king could remove them if their judgments were against his wishes. Occasionally, judges had been dismissed by Stuart kings, and it is possible that, now and then, a judgment was affected by the judge's fear of dismissal. But it is probable that these instances were few. Nevertheless,

the system was unsatisfactory, and the Act of Settlement made the judges independent by depriving the king of the right to dismiss them. Since that time it has been an exceedingly difficult thing to remove a judge. Both Houses of Parliament must send a petition to the king, praying for his dismissal, and since, therefore, the consent of King, Lords, and Commons is required, the proceedings amount practically to the passing of an Act of Parliament. A judge may be removed also as the result of impeachment, or because he is convicted of a serious crime, or because an Act of Parliament is passed for his removal. But actually these things never happen nowadays.

Certain other provisions of the Act of Settlement must receive attention. The king was not to leave Great Britain without consent of Parliament. England was not to be bound to go to war in defence of the sovereign's foreign possessions. Matters of State were to be transacted in the full Privy Council. No person holding a pension, or a salaried post, under the Crown, was to sit in the House of Commons. Aliens were not to be given grants of land, nor were they to be members of the Privy Council or of either House of Parliament, nor were they to hold any place of trust. At first sight these rules appear to be reasonable, in view of the fact that England was to have a line of Hanoverian kings (the descendants of Sophia). It would seem reasonable that the king should live in England and not Hanover, and that England should not be involved in Hanoverian wars, and that English and not Hanoverian ministers should be employed in the government of the country. If King William had protested against these clauses in the Act, it is certain that the above explanation would have been put forward. But it is not the true explanation. These clauses were meant to be insults to William. The real meaning of this part of the Act was: "We have had a king who spends much of his time abroad; we have been dragged into a war in defence of Holland; our king has put his trust in Dutchmen and not in Englishmen; we will see that these things do not happen in future." That this was the real reason for the insertion of these provisions is clear from the fact that after William's death, and before George I came to the throne, several of them were repealed or modified.

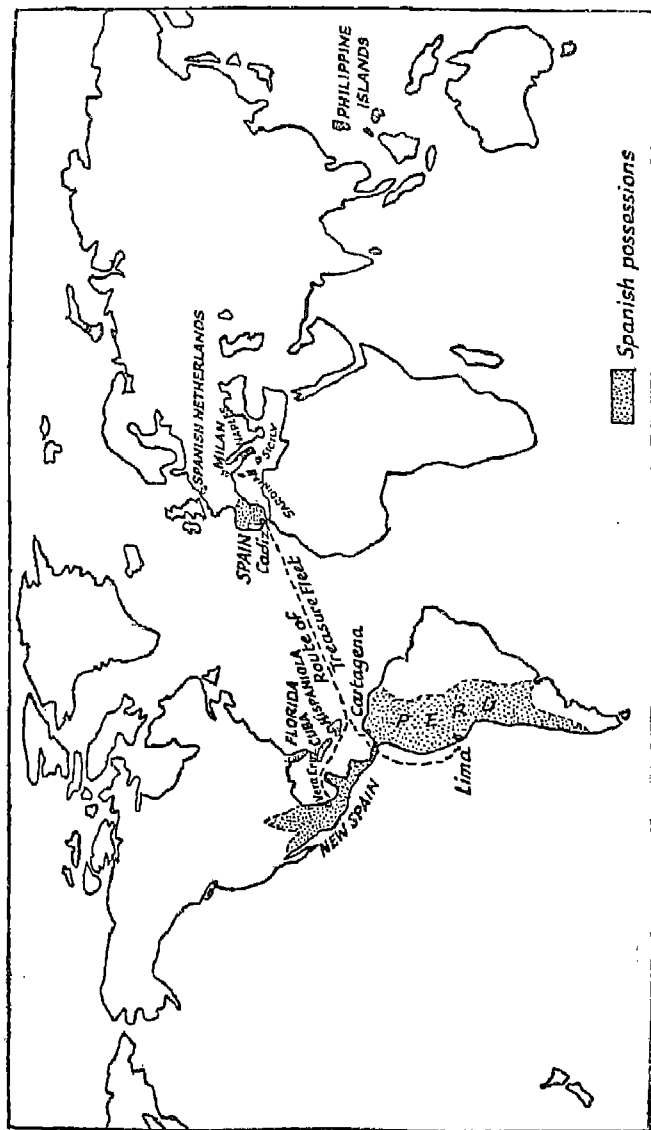
In conclusion it is to be observed that this great Act, which remains the basis on which the present line of kings retains the throne, was passed by a Tory Parliament, and when a Tory

ministry was in office. The need for making further provision for the succession afforded an opportunity for considering whether the Stuarts might be restored. The fact that not even a Tory Parliament with a Tory ministry thought of doing this shows that the nation as a whole had made up its mind on this question, and that, apart from foreign help, the House of Stuart had finally lost the English throne.

Early in 1702 William died. His health, never sound, had been failing for some time, and an accident which would not have been serious for a stronger man proved fatal to him. He was a great king, a great statesman, and a great man. Much of his unpopularity was due to his being misunderstood. He was regarded by many of his subjects as prone to subordinate English interests to those of Holland. But he saw, what they failed to see, that the interests of the two countries were identical, and that for the safety and independence of both it was necessary to crush the power of Louis XIV.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

ONE of the most remarkable facts in the history of the latter part of the seventeenth century is the decline of the power of Spain. This great monarchy had been exhausted by nearly ninety years of almost continuous warfare (1572–1659), undertaken against Protestant peoples in the interests of the Church of Rome. Between 1659 and 1700 Spain was involved in three wars with Louis XIV—the War of Devolution, 1667; the Dutch War, 1673–8; and the Augsburg War, 1689–97. (All these have been already referred to.) The fact that she drew apparently inexhaustible supplies of treasure from the New World, while it was immediately useful in the wars, prevented the development of Spanish internal resources, and her industries and commerce were insignificant by comparison with those of other countries of western Europe. The country was still medieval in character. Nobles and clergy enjoyed excessive privileges, and the peasantry was down-trodden. The activity of the Inquisition had succeeded in exterminating all traces of Protestantism, and priests and monks swarmed in all parts of the land. An energetic and far-seeing king might have revived his country, restored her finances, developed her trade and industry, and cut down ecclesiastical and feudal privileges. But Charles II, King of Spain from 1665 to 1700, was a weakling in body and mind. He has been described as an imbecile. If he had been more definitely insane he might have been replaced by a Regent, to the great advantage of the country. But his case may more truly be described as one of "arrested development." Throughout his life he had the mind of a child. He was married but had no children, and the question of succession to his throne was quite uncertain. For many years the leading kings and statesmen of Europe had known that at his death the question would call for settlement, and as time went on and his health, never good, grew worse, the matter crept nearer and nearer to the front. It

THE SPANISH EMPIRE IN 1700

was probably this fact, rather than any consciousness of defeat, that led Louis XIV to agree to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697.

In spite of the fact that it had fallen on evil days the Spanish monarchy was still a prize well worth winning, and under an able king it might quickly recover much of its former greatness. Its possessions were more extensive than those of any other country in the world. In the Old World, beside Spain itself, the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, certain places, known as the Tuscan ports, on the west coast of Italy, the islands of Sicily and Sardinia and the Balearic Islands, and some places on the north coast of Africa belonged to it, so that the western Mediterranean was almost a Spanish lake. The Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium) and some Rhenish territories in the Holy Roman Empire were also included in the list of Spanish possessions in Europe. Altogether, the Spanish King had four capital cities in Europe—Madrid, Naples, Milan, and Brussels. In the New World, Mexico, Central America, and most of the West Indies and South America were included in the Spanish Empire, while the Philippine Islands off the south-east coast of Asia also belonged to it.

Reference to the genealogical table on page 351 will show that though Charles II had no children and no brothers he had two sisters, of whom the elder, Maria Theresa, had married Louis XIV, King of France, and the younger, Margaret Theresa, had married the Emperor Leopold I. The Dauphin, therefore, would seem to have had the best claim to succeed Charles II, and if he did so the Spanish monarchy with all its possessions would be added to the kingdom of France, already too powerful. But when Maria Theresa married Louis XIV she renounced, for herself and her descendants, all claim to the Spanish throne. This would seem to dispose of the Dauphin's claim, but it was pointed out that the treaty which included this renunciation also provided for the payment of a dowry, which in fact had never been received. If the renunciation was in consideration of the payment of the dowry it would not hold good, because of the non-payment of the money. The French lawyers argued that this was the case; they also contended that succession to the throne of Spain was by "indefeasible hereditary right," which meant that no renunciation could hold good, and that no person in the direct line of succession could forfeit his right by any such document. In order to diminish the opposition with which a French

succession in Spain would certainly be viewed by other powers the Dauphin passed his claim on to his second son, Philip, Duke of Anjou (as his eldest son, Louis, Duke of Burgundy, ought in due course to obtain the throne of France). From the point of view of strict hereditary right the French claim was clearly the best.

Charles II's younger sister, Margaret Theresa, who married the Emperor Leopold I, had a daughter, Maria Antonia, who married Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, and had a son, Joseph Ferdinand, Electoral Prince of Bavaria, whose claim was put forward in opposition to that of Anjou. (An electoral prince is a prince next in succession to an Elector, as a crown prince is next in succession to a king.) But Maria Antonia had renounced her claim to the Spanish throne when she married, and this would have been fatal to her son's prospects, had it not been contended that in making this renunciation she had acted under compulsion from her father, the Emperor. But if both renunciations were valid it was necessary to go a generation farther back in the genealogical table. Philip IV had two sisters, and, singularly enough, the elder of these married a French king and the younger married an Emperor. Anne of Austria married Louis XIII and became the mother of Louis XIV, who, therefore, was personally entitled to claim the Spanish crown through her. But Anne of Austria renounced her claim upon marriage, while her sister Maria, who married the Emperor Ferdinand III, made no such renunciation. Her son, the Emperor Leopold I, therefore claimed through her. He passed his claim on to his second son, the Archduke Charles.

But the settlement of this question could not be determined solely by genealogical considerations. If Anjou became King of Spain he would evidently be entirely under the influence and control of his grandfather, whose power henceforth would be overwhelming. Such a succession would seriously disturb the balance of power—the principle that no European state ought to become so powerful as to be a danger to the rest of Europe. A similar objection applied, though not to the same extent, to the selection of the Archduke Charles, whose elevation to the Spanish throne would strengthen the Austrian power unduly.

But to the succession of the Electoral Prince, Joseph Ferdinand, no such objection could be urged, for Bavaria, to which

he was heir, was not a great European power. To summarise the conflicting claims and arguments it may be said that the strongest claim, genealogically, was that of Anjou; legally, that of Charles; and politically, that of Joseph Ferdinand. The fact that Joseph Ferdinand was a child, while the other two were men, was to the advantage of his claim. If either Anjou or Charles became King of Spain that country would receive a foreign king. But Joseph Ferdinand might be brought up in Spain as a Spaniard.

After the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 an attempt was made to settle this question by agreement between Louis XIV and William III, neither of whom was eager to embark upon a war of which neither could foresee the result. As the outcome of protracted negotiations they entered upon a Partition Treaty in 1698, by which, on the death of Charles II, Joseph Ferdinand was to become King of Spain (with the Spanish Netherlands and the New World possessions), while the Archduke was to receive Milan and Anjou was to have the kingdom of Naples. The Spanish Netherlands would thus form a buffer State between Holland and France, while the Austrian possession of Milan would prevent French expansion in Italy. Neither the Emperor not the King of Spain was a party to this treaty. But the Kings of England and France believed that, while the Emperor might bluster, he would not by himself fight for his son's claim. The Spanish people, however, were indignant at the idea of foreign kings partitioning their empire, and Charles II made a will, in which he named Joseph Ferdinand as heir to the whole of his dominions. Neither the treaty nor the will became important, however, since in 1699 Joseph Ferdinand died of smallpox, and the work of negotiation had to begin again.

It was a more difficult matter to reach agreement this time, since the accession of either the Archduke or the Duke of Anjou would seriously disturb the balance of power. But William was determined to fight rather than permit Louis' grandson to become King of Spain, and Louis at length agreed to the crown passing to Charles. But he contended that both the minor shares under the earlier treaty ought now to go to Philip. William objected, however, that the possession of both Naples and Milan would make France unduly powerful in Italy, and agreed to the proposal only on condition that Milan should be exchanged for Lorraine, a province to the east of France,

whose Duke was to be transferred to Milan. The second Partition Treaty was concluded on this basis in 1700. By this time Charles II was dying, and great efforts were made to secure a will from him. The Queen, Marie of Neuburg, was working in the Austrian interest; but a few days before the Spanish King's death the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Porto Carrero, took charge of the palace and kept the Queen from the King's bedside. He succeeded in obtaining a will which named Philip, Duke of Anjou, as heir to the whole of the Spanish dominions. If Anjou refused the offer of the Spanish crown the whole was to go to the Archduke Charles.

Charles II died, and in due course an ambassador reached Paris with the formal offer of the Spanish crown to the Duke of Anjou. The real decision rested, of course, with Louis XIV. He had agreed to the Partition Treaty and every consideration of honour pointed to his keeping it. But if he had refrained from negotiating with William he would have had the whole prize without any effort. And he might still have it if he allowed his grandson to accept the offer now made to him. Further, if he adhered to the treaty he might lose everything, since the offer to Anjou would be withdrawn and would pass to Charles, who could accept without hesitation, since the Emperor had not been a party to the Partition Treaty. In the end Louis accepted the will, and recognised his grandson as King of Spain with the title of Philip V. The morning following the announcement Louis and Anjou attended mass in state, and the King of Spain took precedence of the King of France, a procedure which was followed when foreign kings were visiting the French court.

The English people for a time approved of Louis's action. They seemed strangely unable to realise the importance of the matter. To William the French King's decision seemed to be a fatal blow. England evidently would not fight, and for Holland alone, or with the Emperor, to declare war would be suicidal. Louis lost little time in making use of his new power, and edicts were issued which gave to French ships certain trading rights in Spanish colonial ports. But in 1701 he made a fatal mistake. James II died at St. Germain, and upon his death Louis recognised his son, now a boy of thirteen, as King of Great Britain. This gross violation of the Treaty of Ryswick, in which he had recognised William, roused this country as William by himself could never have done. It might be said

that Louis was becoming accustomed to the breaking of treaties. He was mistaken, however, in thinking that he could place a king on the English throne as easily as on that of Spain. Whigs and Tories alike were eager for war. Army and navy were increased, and an Act of Attainder was passed against the young "King"—the Pretender, as he was commonly called. William seized the opportunity to dissolve Parliament. In the new House of Commons there was almost a Whig majority, and the King recalled some of the Whig ministers whom he had dismissed in 1700. But on the eve of the outbreak of war he died—not, however, before he had recommended Marlborough to the Princess Anne for the chief command in the coming war. William did not live to see the downfall of his great enemy, but the darkest clouds were breaking. All Europe was roused, and he realised that a war was beginning in which Louis' power would at length be crushed.

In the War of the Spanish Succession there were other questions which were calling for settlement. In an earlier chapter it has already been pointed out that English merchants desired to break down the close monopoly which Spain had hitherto maintained over her colonial trade, and if, as seemed likely, concessions were to be made to the French and not to the English, there seemed to be no chance for England to compete with France in trade and manufactures. The Levant trade, too, needed attention. While most of the coastline of the western Mediterranean was in French or Spanish hands, and while the Barbary Corsairs from the north coast of Africa raided the commerce of the Mediterranean a fleet in that sea was urgently needed for the protection of English Levantine trade. But a fleet needed a base, and one of the prime objects of the war was to secure a naval station in the Mediterranean. For these reasons the mercantile interest in this country vigorously supported the war.

Louis XIV entered upon the war with high hopes. Though faced by a European alliance he was no longer friendless, since the great Spanish monarchy was on his side, and he was in addition supported by the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria. He had, moreover, a strategic advantage over his enemies in possessing what are termed interior lines of communication. Fighting took place in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in Spain. Louis could move troops from one area to another more rapidly than his opponents. And he had the advantage of

undivided control, while his enemies experienced the usual disadvantages of an alliance—jealousies, half-hearted efforts, and the like. He had at his disposal a band of experienced marshals, though none of the genius of Turenne and Condé, and his armies were well trained and undefeated.

The alliance against France and Spain included most of the other European powers. England, Holland, and the Empire formed its backbone, but the Electors of Brandenburg and Hanover, both of them great military powers, afforded useful support. The naval power of England and Holland was more than a match for that of France and Spain. The greatest advantage of the allies, however, lay in the genius of their generals. The Duke of Marlborough was Captain-General of both the English and Dutch armies, and Prince Eugene commanded the Emperor's forces.

The war in the Netherlands began in 1702. Though Marlborough was entrusted with the command of the Dutch army he was not given freedom to move as he thought fit, and in the first year the Dutch Government would not allow him to leave their frontier, as they feared French invasion. (Louis was, of course, free to send his troops through the Spanish Netherlands to the Dutch frontier.) In 1703 the position was much the same, though Marlborough obtained Dutch permission to move up the Rhine as far as Bonn, which he captured. (Bonn was the capital of the Elector of Cologne, who was forced to make peace.) But in 1704 Louis resolved to send an army under Marshal Tallard from the upper Rhine to the upper Danube; a junction was to be made with the Elector of Bavaria, and their united forces were to march upon Vienna, the Emperor's capital. With the capture of this city it was expected that the Emperor would be forced to make peace. Against this formidable plan opposition could be offered only by the Austrian army under Eugene. Marlborough saw the danger, and resolved to act without Dutch permission. On the pretext of undertaking operations on the Moselle, a tributary of the Rhine, he left the Dutch frontier and hastened by forced marches into South Germany where he intercepted the French and joined Eugene. At the Battle of Blenheim he inflicted a crushing defeat on the French and Bavarians, and Marshal Tallard was taken prisoner. The Elector was forced to make peace, and the Emperor was saved. Louis' forces for the first time suffered defeat, while Europe rang with

the fame of the English and their general. The whole aspect of the war was changed. Marlborough, already a duke, was rewarded with the grant of Blenheim Palace.

He was back on the Dutch frontier in 1705. No great achievement marked this year; but in 1706 Marlborough began the work of driving the French out of the Spanish Netherlands. At the Battle of Ramillies he defeated Marshal Villeroi, and the greater part of the Spanish Netherlands, including Brussels, fell into his hands. Some of this territory was recovered by the French in 1707, but they sustained a third great defeat in 1708, when Marshal Vendôme was overthrown at Oudenarde. France was now threatened with invasion, and in the national peril Frenchmen of all classes rallied to the support of the old King. Another army was put in the field, and in 1709 the Battle of Malplaquet was fought, in which Marlborough defeated Villars, though with terrible losses. But the way to Paris lay open, and if other circumstances had not occurred to prevent Marlborough's further advance Louis must have suffered the humiliation of witnessing the fall of his capital.

Meanwhile the French had been driven out of Italy. In 1706 Eugene defeated Marsin at the Battle of Turin, and both Naples and Milan fell into Austrian hands.

In Spain itself the success of the allies was less complete. An English fleet under Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovell captured Gibraltar in 1704. The Archduke Charles, who called himself and was recognised by his allies as Charles III, took Barcelona, which remained his headquarters during the war. The province of Catalonia supported him, but the rest of Spain was for Philip V. In 1706 Charles marched to Madrid, which he captured, and thus for a short time all the four Spanish capitals in Europe were in the hands of the allies. But Charles was forced to retire from Madrid, and in 1707 the allies were defeated at Almanza. In 1708 a fleet and army under General Stanhope captured Minorca. In 1710 Charles again entered Madrid but was again forced to leave it, and further defeats of his forces left the balance in Spain to his disadvantage. His only real hold was upon Catalonia.

On several occasions during the war efforts were made to negotiate a peace between England and France, but for some years these efforts failed entirely on account of the attitude

of the Whig party in England. In their eagerness to make the Protestant succession absolutely secure the Whigs wished to see Louis XIV crushed, and the only terms they would consider were the abdication of Philip V and the recognition of the Archduke as King of Spain. "No peace without Spain," was the Whig motto. In 1706 Louis offered peace on the basis of the second Partition Treaty. His offer was rejected, and he was made to understand that terms agreeable in 1700, before the war, were no longer acceptable in 1706, after important victories had been gained. In 1708 he asked for peace, and offered to withdraw recognition of his grandson as King of Spain. But Philip was in actual possession of Spain, and if these terms were agreed upon the allies would have to continue the fight in order to dislodge him. They demanded, therefore, that Louis should join the Grand Alliance against Philip. But the old King replied that if he must fight he would fight for, and not against, the King of Spain, and the negotiations broke down. Once more, after Malplaquet, Louis made an offer. This time he went so far as to offer to help the allies with supplies of money against Philip, but he would not join the alliance, and again the effort to establish peace failed.

But things were working out better for Louis than he knew. The Whigs, who were opposed to all compromise, fell from power in 1710 (for reasons which will be explained in a later chapter). A Tory ministry, willing to treat for peace, entered office. Marlborough was removed from the command of the army in 1711 and was replaced by the Duke of Ormond, who was instructed to do little or nothing.

The Emperor Leopold I died in 1705 and was succeeded by his son, the Archduke Joseph, as Joseph I. But in 1711 he also died, leaving no sons, so that he was followed by his brother, the Archduke Charles, who became Emperor as Charles VI. (The Empire was still nominally elective, but the Electors invariably chose the person next in hereditary succession.) The election of Charles to the Imperial throne completely altered the whole aspect of the Spanish question. It might well be contended that, if he became King of Spain as well, the balance of power would be endangered to a greater degree than if Philip retained the Spanish crown. And so, in the face of these new facts, the combatants in 1712 opened negotiations at Utrecht that led to the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.

It was agreed that Philip V should be recognised as King of

Spain, but that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. To the criticism that the allies had fought great battles and won great victories for Charles it must be replied that they had fought for the preservation of the balance of power, and that that object was now better served in this way than by putting the new Emperor on the Spanish throne. This settlement, moreover, had the advantage of giving to the Spanish people the King they preferred, a consideration which probably weighed very little with the diplomats at Utrecht.

The Emperor was to be compensated for the loss of his expected Spanish crown by receiving the kingdom of Naples, with Milan, Sardinia, and the Tuscan ports. Thus was established in Italy that Austrian power which was not expelled finally until the middle of the nineteenth century. Charles was also to receive the Spanish Netherlands, which henceforth became the Austrian Netherlands, and formed a buffer state between Holland and France for the security of the Dutch republic. A number of fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands were to be garrisoned by Dutch troops, and the safety of Holland was further guaranteed by a British pledge of assistance in the event of attack.

The Duke of Savoy received the island of Sicily, with the title of King, and the Elector of Brandenburg was recognised as King of Prussia, so that the peace brought about the recognition of two new European monarchies.

Great Britain retained her conquests of Gibraltar and Minorca, and so was provided with naval bases in the Mediterranean. Her claims to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the territory round Hudson Bay were recognised by the French.

Louis XIV recognised Anne as Queen of Great Britain, and undertook to recognise any person who came to the British throne under the Act of Settlement. The Chevalier de St. George (the Pretender) was to be expelled from France. The old King of France thus had to withdraw the recognition which he had accorded to the Pretender in 1701 and to admit the right of Great Britain to settle her own internal affairs.

Dunkirk, which Louis had purchased from Charles II, had been strongly fortified during the war, and was capable of being used as a naval base against England. Louis now undertook to dismantle its fortifications. In this matter he did not act straightforwardly, for while the work was going on men were engaged in strengthening the defences of the neighbouring

fishing village of Mardyck and in cutting a canal which would connect the two places. Only upon strong British protest being made was the work discontinued.

Certain trading arrangements between Great Britain and Spain formed a very important feature of the peace. The Spanish monopoly of South American trade was broken down at last, and by a special agreement, known as the Asiento, between the two countries, Great Britain was granted the monopoly of the supply of negro slaves to Spanish colonies for a space of thirty years. The number of negroes specified in the treaty was four thousand eight hundred per annum, but it might on certain conditions be exceeded. Another trading concession was made to Great Britain. Every year one ship of six hundred tons burthen was permitted to visit Porto Bello, in Central America, for general trade. These trading rights were granted by the British Government to the South Sea Company, which was formed in 1711. It should be added that there was every expectation that the trade then begun would grow in volume. It was assumed that before the expiration of thirty years the Asiento would be extended. There was no time limit to the other concession, which was looked upon as a mere beginning. In the course of the next few years the right was seriously abused, as a number of other ships attended the officially authorised ship, loading from her and unloading on to her, so that the amount of trade done through her was much greater than was contemplated by the treaty.

Certain criticisms of the Peace of Utrecht have already been noticed, and other features call for mention. It has been condemned as being a Tory peace following a Whig war, and it seems certain that the Tories were eager to make peace for their own purposes and that their political opponents would have made arrangements more to the interest of this country. The treaty is to be criticised also for what it omits as well as for what it contains. The province of Catalonia had supported Charles throughout the war, and it was now yielded to Philip without any guarantee of generous treatment. As a matter of fact Philip V invaded the province in the following year and captured the city of Barcelona, whose unhappy inhabitants suffered cruelly at his hands. Their neglect to secure the safety of the Catalan people stands to the lasting discredit of the allies.

But in other respects the Peace does not deserve the unsparing condemnation to which it has been subjected. It did not really endanger the balance of power, and for many years its maintenance seemed to be the surest way of upholding that principle. The fact that neither Philip nor Charles was

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

satisfied with the arrangements made, and that both, in the years to come, tried to overthrow the treaty, indicates that it held the scales fairly evenly between them. It gave to Spain the King she preferred, and the territorial arrangements were made on the basis of existing facts. The lands assigned to Charles were already in his possession or in that of his allies. The British gains were already in British hands. No extensive evacuations were necessary in order to put the treaty into force.

The Peace of Utrecht marks the true end of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth, in the history of Europe. Wars of religion came to an end, and wars for trade and colonial empire took their place. (The Spanish Succession War was to some extent a war of religion, since England was fighting to maintain the Protestant Succession, and to exclude a Roman Catholic king.) New monarchies rose to importance. Above all, the Peace marks the final failure of the plans of Louis XIV. He had ruled for a long time. Apart from his minority, his effective reign covered those of four English sovereigns. His pride was now humbled and the power of France was shattered. Yet his people realised that he had schemed for their glory as well as his own. There is something tragic in the figure of the old King in his last days, defeated and bereaved (for both his son and his grandson in the direct line were dead), about to pass to the grave with the knowledge that the work of his life had failed.

CHAPTER XLV

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

JAMES VI, King of Scotland, became King of England in succession to Elizabeth in 1603. No more than a personal union was brought about, however. The two countries henceforth had the same King, but were in other respects as separate as they had been before. Neither country desired closer union, and the racial enmity which had existed for centuries had not yet died out. The Scots feared that their land would be absorbed by the larger kingdom; Englishmen viewed the presence of Scottish courtiers and place-seekers in London with annoyance and displeasure.

The King himself took a longer view than his subjects of either kingdom, and realised that the interests of the two countries were in the main identical. They were both confined within the limits of one island; both had, in varying degree, embraced the Reformation. If they could overcome their dislike of each other they might become a great power; if they wasted their strength in bickerings and preparations for war they would be insignificant in European affairs. James anticipated the establishment of union by taking the title of "King of Great Britain," although as yet there was, politically, no "Great Britain." Realising that England was larger, wealthier, more populous and more important than Scotland, he aimed at making the latter country more like England than it had been, and in the schemes for closer union which he was considering he took England for his model. In particular he wished to bring about the union of the Churches of England and Scotland. The northern Church was Presbyterian; that of England was Episcopalian. In 1610 he took a definite step forward by re-establishing bishops in the Scottish Church. Their power was limited, and their presence was disliked by the people. But the first step had been taken.

Charles I attempted to go farther. Visiting Scotland in 1633 in company with Archbishop Laud, he extended the power

of the bishops of the Church of Scotland and he increased their number, while the Archbishop made arrangements for the issue of a Prayer Book for use in Scotland. As has already been stated, these measures provoked a storm of protest; and in the General Assembly which was held at Glasgow in 1638 bishops and Prayer Book were abolished. A Covenant was drawn up to which many thousands of Scots subscribed, and this action was confirmed by a further General Assembly at Edinburgh in 1640. The King's attempt to force his Scottish subjects to obedience ended in his defeat in the second Bishops' War, and the occupation of Northumberland and Durham for some months by a Scottish army. In 1641, however, Charles visited Scotland and secured the withdrawal of the troops by yielding to Scottish wishes on the matters in dispute, and when he departed he left the government in the hands of a group of nobles, at the head of which was the Duke of Argyll.

In 1643 the Scottish Government entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with the English Parliament, and agreed to assist it against the King in return for the English promise to establish Presbyterianism in England. In 1644, for the second time in the reign, a Scottish army invaded England. It contributed materially to the overthrow of the King, who surrendered to it in 1646. The war now being over, the Scots, after giving Charles up to the English, returned to their own country at the beginning of 1647. But at the end of that year they entered into the Engagement with the King, by which they undertook to replace him on the throne conditionally upon his establishing Presbyterianism in England for three years. Their third invasion of England, in 1648, was, therefore, on the King's behalf, and it met with much less success than the earlier expeditions. The Scots were utterly defeated by Cromwell in Lancashire, and were driven back across the border in disorder.

Upon the execution of Charles I in 1649 the Scots prepared to recognise his son as their King. An attempt by Montrose, on behalf of Charles II, to overthrow the Government of Argyll failed, and the gallant Earl was captured and put to death. Charles II thereupon took the Covenant and was acclaimed King and crowned at Scone. His position in Scotland was little to his liking, for all real power remained in the hands of the Presbyterian lords. Charles, however, intended

at the earliest opportunity to make a bid for the English crown, and Cromwell's invasion of Scotland was intended to prevent this. Though Leslie was defeated at Dunbar the King marched south in 1651. The fourth Scottish invasion of England within a dozen years ended in disaster at Worcester. The Presbyterian Government was at last overthrown. Scotland became part of the Commonwealth under Monk's governorship.

More than three hundred years earlier Edward I had conquered Scotland and united it to England for a short time, but the indomitable spirit of the Scots, directed by such national heroes as Wallace and Bruce, had prevented the arrangement from lasting. The early Stuart kings had hoped for a more peaceful union, and had failed to bring it about. The rebel Cromwell had succeeded where kings had failed, and for nine years Scotland was united to England. It was a bitter blow to Scottish national pride, but the union provided compensations in other respects. Scottish religious freedom was respected, and no persecution of Covenanters was attempted, though the Episcopalian remnant was subjected to the same restrictions as in England. The material prosperity of the country advanced during the period. Scots enjoyed the benefit of the Navigation Act, and were permitted to trade with English colonies. Thus, the mercantile class in Scotland enjoyed practical experience of the benefits of union with England, and in years to come formed the nucleus of a party which aspired to make that union permanent.

With the restoration of Charles II in England and Scotland in 1660, every legal measure passed in the northern kingdom since 1633 was rescinded. The union of the two kingdoms, therefore, came to an end; and while this was gratifying to Scottish national pride the material advantages of union were lost at the same time. Scotland became a foreign country under the Navigation Act of 1660, and Scottish commerce declined. The Scottish Church became episcopal again, and under the bishops the worship of the Covenanters was forbidden. Under the harsh rule of John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, and of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Covenanters of the west and south-west were cruelly persecuted for many years.

The Revolution of 1689 brought only partial relief to the northern kingdom. The news of the flight of James led to the rabbling of the clergy and the overthrow of the episcopal

system; and although the Scots had sent no invitation to William III the Convention which met at Edinburgh offered the crown to him and Mary on terms substantially identical with those drawn up in England. But William accepted the stipulation that the Church of Scotland should henceforth be Presbyterian and the religious question was solved at last. The revolt and suppression of the Highlanders, culminating in the massacre of Glencoe, was less a reaction in favour of James than an incident in inter-clan warfare.

But the Scots failed at the Revolution to insist on a satisfactory settlement of their commercial relations with their neighbours, and the merchants still felt that they were suffering serious and unnecessary disadvantages. During the reign of William a definite effort was made to establish a Scottish settlement overseas, and to bring about the desired expansion of Scottish commerce independently of England. A Darien Company was formed, and its capital was contributed in large or small amounts by people in all parts of Scotland. The Company was to establish a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien, to build ports on both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts of the isthmus, and to construct roads between these ports. It was expected that by this means a new route to Asia would be opened up. Merchandise would be conveyed between Europe and Darien by ship, it would be carried across the isthmus on pack-mules, and again be loaded on board ship for the voyage across the Pacific. Ships and mules would, of course, have cargoes and loads in both directions. The promoters of the scheme believed that Darien would become one of the most important commercial centres in the world, and that Scotland would grow rich on the profits of the enterprise. The scheme certainly had its good points. It was, in essence, the Panama Canal scheme without the canal. The great advantage of this projected route to the East in place of the existing route round South Africa was that it was mainly an east and west route while the other was mainly north and south. It was longitudinal, the existing route being latitudinal. Merchandise which is carried north and south, crossing the equator twice, is subject to great changes of temperature in the course of the voyage, and sometimes this brings about deterioration in the quality of the goods. But if cargo is to be carried between Europe and Asia in an easterly or westerly direction there will be little variation in

temperature, and quality will be preserved. Further, if the plan had been brought to a successful issue it would have assisted in the development of settlements on the west coast of North and South America.

But the obstacles in the way had not been foreseen. The distance to India by this route was greater than by the Cape. It must be remembered that geographical distances, especially across the Pacific, were not fully known at this time, and it was generally believed that the world was much smaller than modern calculation has proved it to be. The difficulty of constructing mule-roads across the isthmus was not understood. What appeared, on a small-scale map, to be a narrow neck of land, proved to be a tract of country a hundred and fifty miles wide, mountainous and rocky, with torrents crossing the proposed route. The climate, too, was unsuitable for white men, and they speedily fell victims to malaria and other tropical diseases. (When the Panama Canal was completed this difficulty was overcome by organised efforts, on a large scale, to exterminate the mosquito.) But, above all, the site of the projected colony was on Spanish territory, and the Spaniards naturally resented the establishment of an alien settlement as much as the Scots would have resented a Spanish settlement between the Forth and the Clyde. The dismal story is soon told. The colony suffered from disease and from Spanish attack, and proved an utter failure, and the money invested in it was lost, to the impoverishment of those who had contributed their savings to the scheme. The disaster intensified Scottish feelings of bitterness towards England. It was felt that England had been without sympathy towards the scheme, and that if English assistance had been sent from Jamaica and other West Indian islands the outcome might have been different. Such feelings, though natural, were not logical or consistent, for the whole purpose of the adventure had been to show the possibility of Scotland developing colonial settlements without English assistance. But the effect was to strengthen the desire in Scotland for separation from England.

The approaching failure of the succession, indicated by the death of the Duke of Gloucester in 1700, affected Scotland as well as England. Though the Scots had followed the English lead in 1689, they refused to imitate England by passing an act similar to the Act of Settlement. Negotiations for the

union of the two countries were, indeed, entered upon in 1702, but they failed completely. The opportunity for separation seemed to have come; and in 1703 a Bill of Security was passed through the Scottish Parliament, by which it was provided that the person who succeeded to the throne of England at the death of Queen Anne should not become sovereign of Scotland unless free trade between the two countries was arranged, and unless Scotland was left free to control her own affairs. The Queen, acting on the advice of her English ministers, vetoed the Bill, but the Scots passed it again in 1704. This renewed evidence of their determination to separate from England came at the most critical moment of the war, when Marlborough was marching in haste across Germany to intercept Tallard. The position on the continent was so serious and uncertain that England did not dare to risk a war with Scotland, and accordingly Anne agreed to the Bill of Security, which became law. But the Battle of Blenheim was fought and won; the whole character of the war was changed, and England felt free to act firmly towards her neighbour.

In 1705 England prepared for war with Scotland, showing that she did not regard the Act of Security as a final settlement of the succession question. Troops were massed near the border, fortifications were strengthened, and trade in certain important commodities was forbidden. At any time hostilities might break out. Many of the Scots were seriously alarmed by these preparations, and in the Scottish Parliament appeared a party known as the "Flying Squadron," which professed to occupy a middle position between those who supported union and those who sought separation, but which really threw its weight on the side of the union. In 1706, therefore, both countries agreed to the appointment of commissioners to discuss the situation and to try to settle the future relations of England and Scotland by agreement instead of by war. The serious result of failure probably impressed the negotiators, and their discussions were successful. They agreed on terms of union, and both Parliaments passed an Act of Union which came into force on 1st May, 1707.

England and Scotland were in future to form one kingdom, to be known as Great Britain, with one sovereign, one Parliament, one army, and one flag, but with separate laws, law-courts, and churches. Queen Anne was to be sovereign of Great Britain and succession to the throne was to be as arranged

in the English Act of Settlement of 1701, the Scottish Act of Security being dropped. The Parliament of Great Britain was to meet at Westminster, and Scotland was to be represented in both Houses. The peers of Scotland were more numerous in proportion to population than those of England, and it was arranged that sixteen of them should be elected by their fellows to represent the Scottish peerage in the House of Lords. This election was to be renewed for each new Parliament. In the House of Commons Scotland was to have forty-five members, the number being determined by the ratio of Scottish to English population. Scotland was to retain her ancient laws and law-courts, though it was open to future Parliaments to make any desired changes in Scottish law. The Scottish Church was to remain Presbyterian. The flag of Great Britain was to combine the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. Free trade was established between the two countries, and a sum of about £400,000 was voted by the English Parliament to pay off certain loans which had been raised in Scotland, and to give some compensation to those who had suffered by the Darien scheme.

That the union should achieve popularity at once was not to be expected. It was accepted on both sides of the border as the alternative to something worse. For many years Scots feared its effects. In particular they feared for their Church. Twice in the last century bishops had been established in it, against the will of the nation, and it was less than twenty years since they had for the second time been removed. There seemed a real possibility that the union would be followed by a third attempt to restore episcopacy. The Jacobites, too, whose hopes had run high as the result of the Act of Security, were dismayed at the overthrow of Stuart prospects by the passage of the Act of Union. The Scottish people in general felt that their glory as a nation was departing, and that they would in course of time be absorbed into the more numerous southern race.

These forebodings have not been realised. The Scottish Church is still Presbyterian, and the Scottish people still retain their separate national characteristics. The union has proved successful to a remarkable degree, and both countries have benefited by it. It is possible that neither of them, faced with the hostility of the other, might have emerged victorious in the eighteenth-century struggle with France for colonial

and commercial supremacy, and that they might have remained minor powers on the fringe of Europe. United, they forced their way to the front rank, and in the next two centuries built up a vast colonial empire. England no longer had to watch her northern neighbour. Scotland was able to share in English trade. The eighteenth century saw the industrial development of the Clyde valley begin. And though it took many years for national dislikes to disappear, the advantages of the union have made themselves so manifest that very few people to-day would advocate a return to a separate existence for England and Scotland.

CHAPTER XLVI

IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

No serious attempt to exercise English authority over Ireland was made until Tudor times, and the success which attended the great O'Neill revolt at the end of the reign of Elizabeth seemed to show that the English hold on the country was of the slenderest character. But Lord Mountjoy vigorously crushed the outbreak and restored order. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, was pardoned, but his discontent revived under the rule of Sir Arthur Chichester, James I's Deputy, and he revolted again in 1607. He was forced to fly from the country, and his lands were declared forfeit. Most of his fellow-tribesmen in the north of Ireland were dispossessed of their estates, and an extensive Plantation of Ulster was undertaken in 1610. Large numbers of English and Scottish settlers, most of them Puritan, occupied the O'Neill lands in Ulster. This was the most completely successful of the Irish plantations, and the north of Ireland, from being the wildest and least civilised part of the country, became, with its new inhabitants, the most prosperous and loyal. Such of the native Irish as remained there were kept in stern subjection. Most of the dispossessed Irish, however, took sullen refuge in Connaught. The effect of the Plantation of Ulster is to be seen to this day in the circumstance that north-east Ireland differs in race and religion from the rest of the country.

When Sir Thomas Wentworth became Lord Deputy in 1633 he found Ireland full of disorder. He restored peace and administered justice throughout the land. He encouraged the growth of flax and established the linen industry. He introduced into the Irish Church reforms similar to those which Archbishop Laud was forwarding in England and Scotland. But the bulk of the Irish people were Roman Catholic, and would have nothing to do with the Church of Ireland, and Wentworth did not go so far as to suppress Roman Catholic worship. He established an Irish army, well drilled and well

trained, and with this force at his back he threatened to drive the native Irish from the province of Connaught as completely as they had been expelled from Ulster. This proposed Plantation of Connaught was not, however, carried out. Wentworth's rule, firm and even harsh, was the best possible for Ireland. Under him the country prospered and peace was maintained. He was hated. The English, after the Norman Conquest, hated their Norman masters; yet the discipline imposed on the slothful Anglo-Saxons by their Norman lords benefited the nation. Ireland in the seventeenth century needed discipline. Its people were barely civilised; they wasted their energies in tribal warfare; they had little or no national consciousness. A line of such rulers as Wentworth would have conferred lasting benefit on the land, and its later history would have been much happier.

Not long after Wentworth's return to England the Irish instinct for disorder asserted itself. A rebellion began in 1641, and the native and Roman Catholic Irish attacked the Protestant Ulster settlers, hundreds of whom were murdered, while many others lost all their possessions. The troubles in England prevented the King from sending forces to Ireland to cope with this outbreak, and by 1643 the Catholic rebels were supreme throughout the country. Charles I, in fact, concluded with them a treaty, known as the Cessation, by which they were to help him against his English enemies. The Protestant cause in Ireland seemed lost, Roman Catholic worship was restored in the churches of the Church of Ireland, and a papal agent visited the land. But the victorious rebels quarrelled among themselves, and the Marquis of Ormond was able in 1648 to raise a Royalist army to support the cause of the King. Immediately upon the death of Charles I Ormond proclaimed Charles II.

In 1649 Cromwell crossed to Ireland with a brigade of the New Model Army. As has been already narrated, he captured Drogheda and Wexford, and massacred the garrisons which had been placed in these towns by Ormond. Resistance broke down, Ormond fled, and order was restored at last. Catholic worship was suppressed, and the lands of Irish Royalists were given to veteran soldiers of the army, or were sold to pay the expenses of the expedition. Under Ireton, and, after him, Ludlow, firm government was again established. Cromwell's name is hated by the Irish even more than that

of Wentworth. It is significant, however, that Puritan and Royalist Deputies alike found only one way to keep Ireland in order—the exercise of the utmost strictness.

Under the Instrument of Government Ireland became part of the Protectorate, and it was represented by thirty members in the Parliaments called by Oliver Cromwell. This union with Great Britain did not outlast Puritan rule, and with the restoration of Charles II Ireland was treated again as a separate country.

Ormond was restored to power, with a dukedom as the reward of his loyalty and the title of Lord Lieutenant to fortify his authority. The question which gave most trouble was that of land. The Royalists naturally expected the restoration of their forfeited estates. Yet it would not be good policy to dispossess Puritan settlers, who formed a kind of English garrison in Ireland, bound to uphold English ascendancy. The Act of Settlement, 1661, permitted the Puritans to retain their estates and at the same time promised restoration to the Royalists. But though much land was confiscated from the rebel Irish there was not enough to satisfy all claimants, and Ormond in 1665 had to pass through Parliament an Act of Explanation which reduced the Puritan estates by one-third. The Irish Church was restored, and Roman Catholic worship reappeared in the land. No formal sanction was accorded to it but it was in practice permitted.

James II's Lord Lieutenant was Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconell. He was a Roman Catholic, and did nothing to hinder the full restoration of his religion throughout the land. But he was not really devoted to the cause of King James. He looked forward to the ultimate severance of the tie between Ireland and Great Britain, with the repeal of the Act of Settlement and the restoration of Irish lands to Irish people. The flight of James from England presented an opportunity for the execution of his plans. James, however, appeared in Ireland with a French force at his back in 1689. Tyrconell was by no means inclined to assist him to recover his authority over England and Ireland. For the time being, however, James and his lieutenant were able to act together against the common enemy, the English, under William of Orange. The story of their attempt and its failure has already been told. It must be noticed, however, that if they had been successful in Ulster and on the Boyne they would not have been able to

act in concert much longer, for the severance of the English connection, at which Tyrconell and his levies aimed, would have been opposed by James.

The subjugation of Ireland in 1690 and 1691 was completed at Limerick, and a Protestant Parliament, which met in 1695, laid the foundation of a code of laws directed against the native Irish, a code of such severity that for three-quarters of a century the land and its people lay crushed.

CHAPTER XLVII

PARTY STRUGGLES IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

ANNE was the younger daughter of James II, and she succeeded her brother-in-law, William III, in pursuance of the arrangement set out in the Bill of Rights. She was a vain woman, of no great strength of character, and the fact that she influenced the course of affairs during her reign to a considerable extent indicates that the monarchy had not yet lost all its importance. She was a strong supporter of the Church of England, and was inclined to the Tory party. She dismissed those Whig ministers who held office during the last few weeks of William III's reign, and put Tories in their places. The ministry thus appointed lasted from 1702 till 1710, though very few of those who received office in 1702 held it till 1710, and while it was definitely Tory at the beginning it had become entirely Whig before it was dismissed.

The leading members of the Government were the Earl of Marlborough and Sidney Lord Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer, both of whom had hitherto been regarded as Tories. Both were eager to see the war carried through to a triumphant conclusion, and Marlborough soon realised that the Whigs shared his desire while the Tories were lukewarm in support of the war. Marlborough at first was not too sure of his position. For several years he spent the summer on the continent, conducting campaigns against the French, while he returned to England for the periods during which the army was encamped in winter quarters. During his absence his influence might have been undermined had it not been for the close friendship which existed between the Queen and his wife, the haughty and imperious Duchess of Marlborough. After his victory at Blenheim in 1704, Marlborough, already a duke, was firmly established in the position of Captain-General, and his enemies were unable for some years to intrigue effectively against him.

The freedom granted to Protestant Dissenters by the

Toleration Act of 1689 was by no means complete. They could now worship in their own meeting-houses without fear of the law, but the Corporation Act of 1661 still prevented them from sitting on corporations unless they adopted the practice of "Occasional Conformity." The Act required all members of corporations to take the sacrament according to the Church of England, and many Dissenters did this in order to qualify for membership, though they had no intention of attending church services and taking the sacrament regularly. The Tories wished to stop this practice, and while they were in power they tried to pass the Occasional Conformity Bill, which was directed against it. The Bill came before Parliament in 1703. Marlborough did not wish it to pass because he did not want to weaken the power of the Whigs, the supporters of the war. Yet he feared to offend the Tories lest they should bring about his fall. When, however, he was sure the Bill would not pass he voted for it.

In 1704 several of the extreme Tories left the ministry, and a number of moderate Tories took their places. Further changes occurred in 1706, and some Whigs were admitted to office. After the union with Scotland, described in another chapter, the Whig party in the House of Commons was stronger, since most of the Scottish members were Whig. In 1708 the remaining Tories resigned, and for the last two years of its existence the ministry was entirely Whig. Marlborough and Godolphin remained in it and must be regarded from 1708 as belonging to the Whig party.

But the Government was becoming unpopular. The people were tired of the war. Great victories had been won, but they seemed to bring the end of the war no nearer. Negotiations for peace had been begun and had broken down; their failure, it was said, was due to Whig obstinacy in demanding impossible terms of the French King. The Duke of Marlborough had lost much of his former popularity. It was whispered that he was continuing the war for his own glory. His men were devoted to him. But England was not yet used to the idea of a standing army. Once before, and only once, there had been a standing army devoted to its leader. It had overthrown the monarchy and elevated its commander to the government of the country. Was Marlborough to be a second Cromwell? Such ideas sprang up and the Tories did their best to spread them.

The cry arose that the Church was in danger while the Whigs ruled, as they were well disposed towards the Dissenters. Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral before the Lord Mayor of London, in which he revived the doctrines of non-resistance and Divine Right. Much controversy followed, and the Whigs unwisely decided to impeach the Doctor. He was found guilty of seditious teaching and was ordered not to preach for three years. But he became, to a most undeserved extent, popular, and the trial diminished the already waning prestige of the Government.

The immediate cause of the fall of the Whigs in 1710 is, however, to be sought at court. The close friendship of Queen Anne with the Duchess of Marlborough came to an end, and the favourite left the court. In her place Anne received into her confidence and favour a Tory lady, Abigail Hill, who married a Guards officer, Mr. Masham, who not long after became Lord Masham. This change in the balance of influence at court led to the dismissal of the Whigs and the establishment of a Tory ministry.

The leaders of the new Government were Abigail Hill's cousin, Robert Harley, who was made Earl of Oxford and held the post of Lord High Treasurer, and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, who became Secretary of State. Harley was a man of honour; Bolingbroke was a brilliant politician, utterly selfish and entirely devoid of moral principle. In years to come Sir Robert Walpole was to describe him "as making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court as soon as he left it, as betraying every master he ever served, as void of all faith and all honour."

The aim of the Tory ministers was two-fold. They wished to bring the war to an end and re-establish peace, and in this matter their way was made easier by the accession of the Archduke Charles to the throne of the Empire in 1711. Peace was made at Utrecht in 1713, but it had to be approved by both Houses of Parliament. There was no difficulty in the House of Commons, where there was now a Tory majority. But the Whigs possessed a small majority in the House of Lords, and there was a possibility that the peers would reject the Peace. A few days before the debate was to take place, however, Anne created twelve new Tory peers, among whom was Abigail Masham's husband, and the House, now containing a Tory majority, accepted the Peace.

But Harley and St. John wanted peace in order to clear the way for the fulfilment of their main aim, which was to bring about the succession of the Pretender on the death of Queen Anne. To the end of the reign it was uncertain whether the Queen would be followed by her half-brother or by the Elector of Hanover. The only real difficulty in the way of a Stuart succession was that of religion. If the Chevalier had been willing to abandon the Roman Catholic faith for that of the Church of England he would probably have been accepted by the nation in preference to the Elector. The necessary modification of the Act of Settlement would have been made at once by a Tory Parliament, and Queen Anne would have given her assent. But he would not abandon his religion. Cautious and indirect preparations for his succession were nevertheless begun by the Tories. Open and direct measures were out of the question, since they would be contrary to law and would be treasonable. Thus, certain regiments which were regarded as Whig in feeling were disbanded, and the Duke of Ormond was made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports—an appointment which, it was hoped, would facilitate the landing of the Chevalier in England. On the other hand, the Whigs prepared for the accession of the Hanoverian candidate. Sophia was still alive, but she was old, and it was probable that she would not come to England. If she outlived Queen Anne, her son, the Elector George, would come as Regent; if she died before Anne he would come as King. The Whigs, though no longer in office, could act openly in any preparations they wished to make, since they were proposing to carry out the law and not to intrigue against it. They invited the Electoral Prince (afterwards George II) to come to England as his father's representative. The Tories could not raise formal objection to this, but Queen Anne was very angry and wrote a violent letter to Sophia, the receipt of which affected the old lady so much that she died soon after.

Harley and Bolingbroke, however, were not in agreement. Harley still insisted that James must change his religion as the price of Tory support; Bolingbroke cared nothing for the Pretender's religion. The two statesmen quarrelled in the Queen's presence, and Harley, for forgetting the personal respect due to the Queen, was dismissed from his office. Bolingbroke was now alone at the head of the Government and could make more active preparations to proclaim James when

the time should come. But the excitement of these events made the Queen seriously ill, and five days after the dismissal of Harley she died. Before her death, however, she appointed the Duke of Shrewsbury, a Whig, to the post of Lord High Treasurer in Harley's place. The appointment proved fatal to Bolingbroke's schemes, for immediately upon the Queen's death Shrewsbury proclaimed the Elector of Hanover King as George I. Bolingbroke was unprepared. If Anne had lived a few weeks longer he might have been ready to proclaim James; the sudden death of the Queen left him with no alternative to joining the Pretender abroad. And so came about "the greatest miracle in English history"—the accession of George I.

SUMMARIES OF THE CHAPTERS OF THIS BOOK

THE TUDOR PERIOD

INTRODUCTION: THE BEGINNING OF MODERN TIMES

THE WORLD'S HISTORY:

Ancient Times:

Highly civilised peoples. Powerful empires. Great cities. Art. Literature.

Ended with the fall of the Roman Empire, when barbarian nations invaded it and founded kingdoms in Roman provinces.

Middle Ages:

Little progress aimed at or made. In every sphere of life (religion, industry, trade, etc.) men were members of groups. The group was more important than the individual.

Ended with the Renaissance.

Modern Times:

Great progress in every way. Men have acted as individuals, and not as members of large groups. They have thought for themselves.

EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES:

Very little education. Few people could read and write, except priests and monks. Monastic schools for boys who intended to enter the Church.

Latin:

Studied in monastic schools:
(*a*) Language of church services.
(*b*) Language of books.
(*c*) "Universal language" of learned men.

Greek:

Not studied.

Astrology:

Forerunner of astronomy. Concerned with the casting of horoscopes.

Alchemy:

Forerunner of chemistry. Concerned with the search for the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life, and the universal solvent.

THE RENAISSANCE:

Revival of classical learning in the fifteenth century, after Turks

1453. captured Constantinople. Greek scholars from Eastern Europe fled westwards and spread knowledge of Greek in universities of Western Europe.

Intellectual activity. Men began to think for themselves.

Inventions:
- Mariner's compass.
- Telescope (a century later).
- Printing.

Renaissance in Italy. Painting. Sculpture. Literature.

Renaissance in Central and Northern Europe. Study of Greek led to the reading of the Greek New Testament. Doctrines of the Church questioned. Led to the Reformation.

1. GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD IN THE MIDDLE AGES:

(1) Europe, South-west Asia and India, and Northern Africa well known.
(2) Eastern Asia slightly known.
(3) America, Australasia, and most of Africa unknown.
(4) Shape and size of the world unknown.

TRADE IN THE MIDDLE AGES:

Carried on by the cities on the shores of the Mediterranean: Marseilles, Genoa, Venice, Constantinople, Alexandria.

Eastern trade:

Silks and spices. Monopolised by Genoa and Venice.

(1) Genoa and Constantinople. Caravan trade from Central Asia to the Black Sea.

(2) Venice and India, by
(*a*) Levant, Syrian Desert, Persian Gulf.
(*b*) Egypt and Red Sea.

Western trade:

Venice and the Netherlands (Bruges).
(1) By Brenner Pass and Rhine valley.
(2) By sea to English Channel and the Netherlands.

Venetian monopoly. High prices. New route to India needed.

POSSIBLE NEW ROUTES TO INDIA:

(1) Round Africa. Attempted by Portuguese.
(2) Westwards. Attempted by Spanish.

PORTUGUESE:

1394–1460. *Prince Henry the Navigator:*
Encouraged exploration of the west coast of Africa. Trade in ivory, gold-dust, and slaves.

Bartholomew Diaz:

1486. Reached the Cape of Good Hope.

Vasco da Gama:

1497–8. Reached India.

Cabral:

1501. Began trade on a considerable scale. Discovered Brazil.

1505. Portuguese depot established at Antwerp. Competed with

1509. Venetians. Battle of Diu (Indian Ocean). Portuguese defeated Venetians and Egyptians.

Portuguese trade by the Cape route continued during the sixteenth century. No other nation used this route till the end of the century.

SPANISH:

Columbus:

Four voyages. Reached

1492. (1) Bahamas, Cuba, Hayti.
1493. (2) Jamaica.
1498. (3) Venezuela.
1502. (4) Honduras.

Amerigo Vespucci:

1499. Explored coast of Central America and north coast of South America.

Ponce de Leon:

1512. Discovered Florida.

Balboa:

1513. Crossed the Isthmus.

By 1517 it was recognised that the Spanish discoveries were not part of Asia.

Magellan:

1519-21. Voyage round the world. Crossed Pacific and reached Philippines. Route useless for trade, but voyage proved world to be round.

ENGLISH:

Took little part in exploration.

Cabot:

Two voyages. Reached

1497. (1) Newfoundland.
1498. (2) Mainland of North America.

RESULTS OF THE EXPLORATIONS:

(1) New route to India.
(2) New continent discovered.
(3) Diminished importance of Mediterranean. Decay of Mediterranean cities.
(4) World's trade in modern times on Atlantic.
(5) Increased importance of Spain, France, England, and Portugal.
(6) Men eager for further exploration.

2. EUROPE AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE:

In Central Europe. Corresponded roughly with modern Germany, but extended farther to the west and south and not so far to the east. Included Netherlands, Switzerland, and Austria, but not Prussia. Nearly three hundred states, a few large and powerful, many small. States ruled by princes. Emperor a personage of great dignity. "Lord of the World." Little real power as Emperor, though he might be powerful on account of other possessions. Elective, not hereditary. Chosen by seven Electors. It became usual from about this time to elect a member of the Hapsburg family. Emperor from 1493 to 1519 was Maximilian of Hapsburg, who married Mary of Burgundy.

FRANCE:

Formerly many provinces, ruled by dukes or counts almost independent of king. Kings gradually increased in power. Many provinces came under direct rule of Crown. Burgundy, after death of Charles the Rash. Brittany, after marriage of Charles VIII to the Duchess Anne. France united under royal rule before end of fifteenth century.

1477.
1491.

NETHERLANDS:

Seventeen provinces, within Empire. Part of Burgundian dominions. Passed to Mary of Burgundy, who married Maximilian. Became Hapsburg dominion. Manufacturing. Wealthy.

SPAIN:

Several small kingdoms in the Middle Ages. By fifteenth century only Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Granada. Portugal separate till to-day (except 1580–1640). Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile. Conquered Granada. Spain united by end of fifteenth century.

1469.
1492.

ITALY:

Not united. Papal States in middle. Kingdom of Naples in south. Duchy of Milan and other states in north. Both France and Spain claimed both Milan and Naples. Frequent wars in Italy between France and Spain.

ENGLAND:

Wars of the Roses ended. Noble power reduced. Strong Tudor monarchy. Country peaceful and prosperous.

SCOTLAND:

Poor and backward. King had little authority over Lowlands, less over Highlands. Fear of England. Alliance with France.

GREAT POWERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY:

Spain France England

(1) United under strong kings.

(2) Situated on Atlantic seaboard. Favourably placed for trade with the New World. Future struggles for colonial empire.

In the first half of sixteenth century:
Enmity of France and Spain, for supremacy in Italy.
In the second half of sixteenth century:
Enmity of England and Spain, on the religious question.

3. HENRY VII

WHY HE BECAME KING:

1485. His victory over Richard III at Bosworth.

HIS RIGHT TO THE THRONE:

Parliament recognised him as King.
Not conquest, which confers no right.
Not descent, since others had better right by descent.

POSSIBLE RIVALS:

Edward, Earl of Warwick:
In the Tower, 1485–99.
Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV:
Henry married her.

CLAIMANTS:

Lambert Simnel:
1487. Claimed to be Earl of Warwick. Put forward by Irish Yorkists. Defeated at Stoke. Became King's servant.
Perkin Warbeck:
1492. Claimed to be Richard, Duke of York, brother of Edward V. Helped successively by King of France, Duchess of Burgundy, King of Scotland. Married Lady Catherine Gordon. Landed in Ireland. Then in south-west England.
1497. Captured at Beaulieu.
1499. Hanged.

TUDOR POLICY:

To strengthen power of Crown.
Possible rivals to Crown:
Nobility:
Power destroyed by Henry VII.
Church:
Made subject to Crown by Henry VIII.
Parliament:
Of little importance.

NOBILITY:

(1) Power already reduced in Wars of Roses.
(2) Nobles forbidden to keep retainers.
(3) Star Chamber established to enforce law, and fine law-breakers.
(4) Castles useless, since King possessed cannon.

TREASURE:

Amassed by Henry VII in order that he might use it in recovering the throne if he were deposed.

(1) Saving from revenue.
(2) Star Chamber fines.
(3) Benevolences.
(4) A payment by the King of France in 1492.

4. EARLY TUDOR FOREIGN POLICY

AT BEGINNING OF TUDOR PERIOD:

English possessions in France lost except Calais. England of little importance in Europe. Henry VII and Henry VIII aimed at re-establishing English reputation in Europe.

HENRY VII:

(1) *General policy of peace:*
Because of the uncertainty of his position.

(2) *France:*
Henry invaded France. No fighting.
1492. Treaty of Etaples:
(*a*) Warbeck expelled.
(*b*) Money payment.

(3) *Netherlands:*
Duchess of Burgundy sheltered Warbeck. Henry stopped wool trade.
1496. Magnus Intercursus:
(*a*) Warbeck expelled.
(*b*) Trade restored.
1506. Malus Intercursus:
Unfavourable to Netherlands.

(4) *Spain:*
Italian wars with France began in 1494. Henry VII wanted Spanish alliance. Royal marriage. Arthur married Catherine of Aragon. Arthur died. Proposed marriage of Henry, Duke of York, with Catherine. Papal dispensation.
1501.
1502.

(5) *Scotland:*
At first unfriendly. Henry aimed at friendship. Royal marriage. James IV and Margaret Tudor.
1503.

HENRY VIII:

(1) *Policy:*
Alliance with Spain.
Vigorous part in European warfare.

1509. (2) *Marriage:*
With Catherine of Aragon. Spanish alliance.

1508. (3) *League of Cambray:*
France, Spain, Emperor, Pope, against Venice. No chance for Henry, who was not yet King.

1511. (4) *Holy League:*
Pope, Spain, Emperor, Venice, and Henry VIII. To drive French out of Italy.

(5) *War of Holy League:*
1512. Gascony campaign. No help from Ferdinand. Troops mutinied. Failure.
1513. Flanders campaign. Henry and Wolsey. Tournai captured. Battle of Spurs.
1513. Scottish invasion of England. Battle of Flodden. James IV slain.
1514. Peace between England and France. Louis XII married Mary Tudor.
1515. French invaded Italy. Battle of Marignano. French captured Milan.

5. THE RIVALRY OF FRANCE AND SPAIN DURING THE FIRST PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE THREE YOUNG KINGS:

1509. England. Henry VIII succeeded Henry VII.
1515. France. Francis I succeeded Louis XII.
1516. Spain. Charles I succeeded Ferdinand.

THE EMPIRE:

1519. Maximilian died. The three young kings became candidates for the Imperial crown. Henry withdrew. Charles elected Emperor as Charles V. Francis angry.

1521–1559 (with short intervals of peace). WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN:

Causes:
(1) Disappointment of Francis.
(2) Italian claims.

Preparations:
Both sought English alliance.
Francis met Henry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.
Charles negotiated with Henry and with Wolsey.

Course of the struggle:
1521–5. England allied with Spain. Francis defeated and captured
1525. at Pavia. Milan became Spanish.
1526. Anglo-Spanish alliance ceased, because
(1) Wolsey not Pope.
(2) Proposed divorce of Henry from Catherine.
1526–9. England allied with France. Charles still victorious.
1529–38. Henry withdrew from war. (End of papal power in England.)
1538–40. Proposed alliance of Francis and Charles against Henry, to restore papal power in England. Henry allied with German princes and married Anne of Cleves.
1540. Charles and Francis again at war. Henry divorced Anne of Cleves.

1545. Charles and Henry again allied (after Princess Mary restored to succession). English captured Boulogne.
1547. Henry and Francis died. Franco-Spanish rivalry continued.
1554. Philip, Prince of Spain, married Queen Mary, to secure English alliance.
1556. Charles abdicated. Philip II succeeded to Spain.
1557–8. War of England and Spain against France. Calais lost.
1558. Mary died. Philip proposed to marry Elizabeth, who declined.
1559. Peace between France and Spain in order to extirpate Protestantism, which had gained ground during this forty years' war.

6. WOLSEY

1471–1530.

EARLY LIFE:

Humble parentage. Born at Ipswich. Educated at Oxford. Entered priesthood.

ADVANCEMENT:

Bishop of Winchester introduced him to court. Gained notice of Henry VII. Dean of Lincoln and Royal Almoner.
1513. Controlled commissariat in Flanders campaign. Bishop of Tournai and Lincoln.
1514. Archbishop of York.
1515. Lord Chancellor. Cardinal.
1518. Papal Legate.
From time to time obtained other bishoprics and an abbey. Great wealth. Built York House and Hampton Court. Ruled England as Henry's minister for fifteen years.

AMBITION:

To become Pope.

POLICY:

Domestic:
To rule without Parliament. Ruled through the Council and the Star Chamber.

Church:
To reform it by improving education of clergy. Founded Cardinal College (Christ Church), Oxford. Not a real reformer. Pluralist.

Foreign:
To support Charles against Francis, in return for Charles's support at Rome. Later, to support Francis against Charles.

DIVORCE QUESTION:

Henry wanted his marriage with Catherine declared void because of his doubts of its validity. Children died. Need of an heir to the throne.
Pope was asked to declare that the dispensation was invalid.

1527. Charles captured Rome and controlled Pope, who invented pretexts for delay in settling the divorce question.
1528. Commission (Wolsey and Campeggio) to try case in England.
1529. Case recalled to Rome.

1529. FALL OF WOLSEY:

Because of delays in divorce case. Deprived of all posts. Yielded his palaces to King. Restored to Archbishopric of York.
1530. Arrested at York for treason. Died at Leicester.

7. THE CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION

ORGANISATION:

Originally simple. After Christianity became religion of Roman Empire, Church became highly organised and wealthy. Pope at head. Simplicity lost. Separation of east and west in ninth century.

NEED OF REFORM (at close of Middle Ages):

Lives of clergy:

Parish priests. Often lazy. Some (not all) were evil.
Bishops. Neglected dioceses. Were statesmen rather than leaders of religion.
Friars. Did good work, but demanded payment for their services.
Cardinals and Popes. Great wealth. Often great wickedness.

Doctrines of Church:

It was doubtful whether they were in accord with Christ's teaching. Much crude teaching about hell and purgatory. Sale of indulgences.

Wealth of Church:

Great. Increasing. Attracted many unsuitable men to priesthood.

Pope:

Head of the Church as successor to St. Peter.
(1) Right to headship disputed by many.
(2) Wealthy.
(3) Some Popes evil.
(4) Ruler of Papal States.
(5) Claimed superiority to kings.

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT REFORM:

Wycliffe and the Lollards (Fourteenth century—England):

Wycliffe taught that
(1) Only good men should exercise authority.
(2) Church should renounce its wealth and the clergy should live on the voluntary contributions of their people.

Lollards persecuted. Movement declined, though it did not entirely die away.

The Councils (Fifteenth century—Continent):

The Great Schism (two popes, and for a time three popes) was ended by the Council of Constance.

The Council of Constance ordered that a Council should meet every ten years. Failure, because Popes were unwilling to call Councils.

8. THE REFORMATION

CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION:

(1) The evils in the Church.

(2) The spirit of inquiry which had resulted from the Renaissance.

1483–1546. LUTHER:

Born in Saxony. Became a friar.

1509. Professor at University of Wittenberg.

1517. Criticised the sale of indulgences then being carried on in Germany by Tetzel.

1520. Excommunicated.

The Emperor Charles V wished to put him to death, but was throughout his reign occupied with the war with France. Many German princes supported Luther, and before his death most of the northern states of the Empire were Lutheran.

Lutheranism did not spread beyond the Empire, except to some extent into Scandinavia.

Lutherans were known, after a time, as Protestants.

1509–1564. CALVIN:

Born in France. Suspected of heresy. Lived for some time at Basel. Wrote *The Institutes*, in which he described an ideal church.

1536–8. Lived at Geneva, where he enforced his ideas. Exiled.

1541–64. Again at Geneva. System fully enforced.

Calvin's system was strict and severe. In many ways the opposite of Roman Catholicism. Persecuted those who did not agree with him. Welcomed reformers who fled from persecution in their own lands.

Calvinism spread into many countries.

RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION:

(1) The unity of the Church was destroyed, and has never been recovered.

(2) In course of time the Roman Church began to reform itself, in order to avoid further losses.

9. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

CAUSES OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION:

(1) The desire felt by the best men in the Church for reform.

(2) The necessity of doing something to prevent further losses.

AIMS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION:

(1) To prevent further losses.
(2) To recover what had been lost.

1545–1563. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT:

(1) Attempted, and failed, to reach agreement with the German Protestants.
(2) Established rules for the lives of the clergy.
(3) Restated the doctrines of the Church.
(4) Did not touch papal power.

THE INQUISITION:

The Papal Inquisition:
In parts of Italy and the Empire.

The Spanish Inquisition:
Throughout Spanish dominions. Heretics secretly denounced. Examined by means of torture. Confessions extorted. Punished with death by burning. Especially severe persecution in the Netherlands.

THE JESUITS:

A religious order founded to recover for the Church what it had lost. Well organised. Strict obedience to superiors. "General" at the head of the order.

Work of the Jesuits:
(1) Preaching.
(2) Teaching.
(3) Missionary work to Protestant countries.
(4) Missionary work to heathen lands.
(5) Exploration.

WARS OF RELIGION:

Spain undertook the task of recovering the separated countries by force. She used the gold and silver obtained from the New World for this purpose.

1572–1609. Against the Netherlands, in their revolt from Spain.
1587–1604. Against England.
1618–48. Against the Protestant German states, in the Thirty Years War.

RESULTS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION:

(1) Further losses from the Church were averted.
(2) The countries already lost were not recovered.
(3) The worst evils were removed from the Church.

10. THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

THE CHURCH IN EARLY TIMES:

Identical with the nation. All Englishmen belonged to the Church. King at head of it. Pope respected in England, but could do nothing contrary to the King's will.

THE CHURCH IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES:

1213. King John became the Pope's vassal. After this event Popes exercised much greater power in England.
Popes used their power to extort money from England.
Appeals were carried from English ecclesiastical courts to Rome. Very costly.

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT REFORM IN ENGLAND:

14th cent. *Wycliffe:*
Proposed that the wealth of the Church should be renounced. Failure. The movement was too early—before the mass of the people realised that reform was needed.

End of 15th cent. *Oxford Reformers:*
Studied Greek. Read the Greek New Testament. Tried to bring about better standard of life among the clergy.

HENRY VIII:

Educated for the priesthood. Catholic throughout his life. No sympathy with Protestantism. Wrote *Defence of the Seven Sacraments,* against Luther. Pope conferred on him title, "Defender of the Faith."

CAUSES OF THE SEPARATION FROM ROME:

(1) [Real]. The way in which papal power had been abused during the past three centuries.
(2) [Immediate]. The Pope's refusal to grant Henry a divorce from Catherine.

THE KING'S AIM:

To recover the royal authority over the Church of England which had been enjoyed by early kings, but which had been lost since the reign of John.

THE SEPARATION FROM ROME:

1529–36. Carried out by Acts of the "Reformation Parliament."

1532. *Annates Act:*
Forbade the payment of annates to the Pope.

1533. *Appeals Act:*
Forbade appeals from English courts to Rome. Recalled existing appeals. Such cases to be settled by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Archbishop Cranmer granted Henry's divorce.

1534. *Act of Supremacy:*
King to be "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England."

EFFECTS OF THE SEPARATION:

(1) Foreign authority over the Church of England was abolished.
(2) Royal authority over the Church was restored.
N.B. (*a*) Though the divorce question was the immediate cause of the break, it would have come sooner or later

in any case. The nation was weary of the abuses of papal power.

(*b*) The nation as a whole agreed with what the King did.

(*c*) Henry did not become a Protestant.

(*d*) No new Church was established. The headship of the existing Church was changed.

(*e*) Royal power was completed by the assumption of authority over the Church.

11. THOMAS CROMWELL AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

1530–40. THOMAS CROMWELL:

Humble parentage. Secretary to Wolsey. King's chief minister for ten years, during the period of the dissolution of the monasteries. Held the post of "Vicar-General" after 1535.

THE SUCCESSION:

Henry married Anne Boleyn. Daughter Elizabeth. Declared heir to throne in place of Mary. More and Fisher beheaded for refusing to recognise Anne as Henry's lawful wife.

THE MONASTERIES:

Their former usefulness and importance:

(1) As places of refuge from the wickedness of the world.
(2) As centres of religion and learning.
(3) For the writing of books.
(4) For the instruction of children.
(5) For the relief of the destitute.
(6) For the entertainment of travellers.
(7) For the care of the sick.

Their decay (by sixteenth century):

(1) Few men and women became monks and nuns.
(2) Books now printed.
(3) Schools established.
(4) Inns were springing up.

Their position:

Most of them were independent of bishops. Abbots equal to bishops. Looked to Pope as their immediate head.

REASONS FOR THE DISSOLUTION:

(1) That the King coveted their wealth (often asserted—yet not the real reason).
(2) That they were corrupt (the pretext—not the real reason).
(3) That their usefulness and importance were gone (for this reason they were certain to be dissolved sooner or later).
(4) That they looked to the Pope as their head, and that Henry would not be unquestioned head of the Church while they remained (the main reason).

THE DISSOLUTION:

1536. *Smaller monasteries:*
By Act of Parliament. Those with less than two hundred pounds a year.

1536. *Pilgrimage of Grace:*
Rebellion in Yorkshire. Rebels demanded restoration of monasteries and dismissal of Cromwell. Rebels dispersed with promises from Duke of Norfolk. Punished by King.

1537. Council of the North established.

1539–40. *Larger monasteries:*
Abbots persuaded to surrender their houses into the King's hands. All did so except three, who were put to death, and their abbeys confiscated.

MONASTIC WEALTH:

In the King's hands. Disposed of as follows:
(1) Six new bishoprics established.
(2) Pensions to monks and nuns.
(3) National defence.
(4) Distributed amongst King's favourites.

RESULTS OF THE DISSOLUTION:

(1) Papal power in England completely destroyed.
(2) New landowners used their lands for their own advantage, and with no regard for the poor.
(3) New landowners would always be opposed to restoration of papal power.

1540. DEATH OF CROMWELL:
For "treason." Really for arranging for the King a marriage of which Henry did not approve.

12. ENGLISH RELIGION IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TUDOR PERIOD (1535–1558)

1535–1547. HENRY VIII:

His position:
Head of the Church. Catholic. Would not tolerate Protestants. Nation as a whole Catholic. A few Protestants in London and the south-east.

The Old Learning:
The party of "no further change." Included Gardiner and Norfolk.

The New Learning:
The party of "further change in the direction of Protestantism." Outwardly Catholic. Included Cranmer, Cromwell, and Hertford.

Events of the period:
Indicate the influence of the one group or of the other over the King.

1536–40. Dissolution of the monasteries: New Learning influence.
1538. Bible in English: New Learning influence.
1539. Six Articles: Old Learning influence.
1545. Short English service: New Learning influence.
1546–7. Chantries and Gilds: New Learning influence.

1547–1549. EDWARD VI. SOMERSET'S RULE:
The Protector was a Protestant, and made various changes.
1547. (1) Six Articles repealed.
1547. (2) Priests allowed to marry.
(3) Old customs discontinued.
(4) Plundering of the churches.
1549. (5) First Book of Common Prayer.
1549. Rebellions. The most serious in Devon. Suppressed.

1549–1553. EDWARD VI. WARWICK'S RULE:
Warwick was President of the Council. Became Duke of Northumberland. No real principles, but sided with extreme Protestants. Further changes.
1552. (1) Second Book of Common Prayer.
(2) Further plundering of Church property.
(3) Preaching of Protestantism in England by foreign Protestants.
(4) Imprisonment of certain bishops.
Attempted to place his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne in succession to Edward, and so to secure a continuance of power. Failed. Mary succeeded Edward and placed Northumberland and Jane in the Tower. Both beheaded.

1553–1558. MARY:
Her aim was to restore in England
(1) The Catholic religion.
(2) The Pope's power.
The first was easy; the second was difficult.
Mary's religious changes:
(1) Foreign Protestant preachers exiled.
(2) Six Articles restored.
(3) Use of Prayer Book forbidden.
(4) Latin Mass restored.
(5) Married priests to separate from their wives.
(6) (After she had promised not to insist upon the restoration of monastic lands.) Repeal of the Act of Supremacy, and re-union of the Church of England with the Church of Rome.
(7) Monasteries still in possession of Crown were restored.
Cardinal Pole became Papal Legate in England, and, after the degradation of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1555–8. *The persecution:*
(1) About three hundred people burned.
(2) Mostly humble folk, but five bishops burned.
(3) Persecution severest in the south-east.
(4) Did not destroy Protestantism in England.

13. THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE IN TUDOR TIMES

THE PEOPLE AT BEGINNING OF PERIOD:

Mostly worked upon the land. Few artisans in towns. Very few sailors and fishermen. Serfdom now almost extinct.

PASTURE FARMING:

Increasing in extent, because
(1) Less labour required.
(2) Good price and steady market for wool in the Netherlands.
Further extension after dissolution of the monasteries. Monastic lands had rarely been turned into pasture. New landowners sometimes made the change.

GROWTH OF VAGABONDAGE:

(1) Many labourers displaced by the conversion of land from arable to pasture.
(2) Retainers turned adrift from baronial retinues became vagabonds.
(3) Soldiers who had fought in the Wars of the Roses.
(4) Dissolution of monasteries ended monastic charity to the destitute.

PUNISHMENT:

By Henry VIII: Whipping.
By Edward VI: Branding and slavery.

1549. REBELLION:

In Norfolk. Led by Robert Kett. Rebellion crushed.

RELIEF OF THE POOR:

Mary: Church collection.
1601. Elizabeth: Poor Law:
(1) Every parish to support its own poor.
(2) A poor-house in every parish.
(3) Work to be provided for the able-bodied.
(4) Pauper children to be apprenticed to a trade.

14. ELIZABETH'S RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT

ELIZABETH'S AIM:

To make a lasting settlement, acceptable to the mass of the nation.

COURSES OPEN TO ELIZABETH:

(1) To follow Mary's policy, recognise the Pope as head of the Church and burn Protestants. Advantage of Philip's support.
(2) To follow Edward VI's policy and reintroduce Protestantism.
(3) To follow Henry VIII's policy, with the Crown at the head of a Catholic Church.

She preferred the last of these courses, but the nation was, as a result of the Marian persecution, much more inclined to Protestantism than it had been in the time of Henry VIII. Her settlement had to be more Protestant than his.

THE SETTLEMENT:

1559. (1) Act of Supremacy. Queen at head of Church.
(2) Monasteries restored by Mary were dissolved.
(3) Book of Common Prayer issued.
(4) All men compelled to attend church, under penalty of fine. No law against heresy.

THE PAPISTS:

For some years the settlement seemed to be successful. Even Papists attended church.

1570. Pope excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth.

1571. High treason to call the Queen heretic, usurper, or infidel.

Impossible henceforth for Roman Catholics to be loyal to Queen and faithful to Pope. If loyal to Queen they ceased to be Roman Catholics. If they obeyed Pope they were traitors to Queen. Many of them engaged in plots on behalf of Mary Stuart, and were punished, not for heresy, but for treason. If they refrained from treasonable activity they suffered no penalty other than that for recusancy.

1577. Douai mission began. Aimed at the reconversion of England.

1580. Jesuit mission began. Similar aim.

1581. Recusancy fines increased.

1585. Jesuit and Douai priests ordered to leave country within forty days on pain of death.

Activity of these priests continued till end of reign. Constant search for them.

THE PURITANS:

Refugees at Geneva in Mary's reign returned in Elizabeth's reign. Few at first. Increased. Calvinistic in belief.

Disliked the Church settlement as not being sufficiently Protestant.

Their objections:

(1) The wearing of the surplice.
(2) Bowing the head at the name of Jesus.
(3) Kneeling at communion.
(4) Use of the ring in the marriage ceremony.
(5) The sign of the cross.
(6) (Some of them.) The retention of bishops in the Church.

Some Puritans left the Church and founded independent congregations. They were known as "Brownists," or "Sectaries," or "Independents."

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY:

1558. *Cardinal Pole:*
Died one day after Mary.

1559–75. *Matthew Parker:*
Enforced the wearing of surplices by the clergy who were of Puritan opinion. Issued the "Advertisements."

1575–83. *Edmund Grindal:*
Inclined to support the Puritans. Refused to suppress, at the Queen's command, the Puritan religious meetings. Suspended. Died in disgrace.

1583–1604. *John Whitgift:*
Opposed Puritans. Punished those who preached and wrote against bishops.

THE SETTLEMENT. HOW FAR SUCCESSFUL:

Only partially, since it was opposed both by Puritans and by Papists. Yet the fault for its partial failure did not lie with the Queen. And the bulk of the nation accepted it.

15. ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN THE TUDOR PERIOD

SCOTTISH KINGS AND QUEENS:

James IV (1488–1513).
James V (1513–1542).
Mary (1542–1567).
James VI (1567–1625).

SCOTLAND BEFORE THE TUDOR PERIOD:

Generally hostile towards England and in alliance with France. Border fighting common.

TUDOR POLICY TOWARDS SCOTLAND:

To bring about friendly relations with Scotland.

JAMES IV:

Unfriendly. Sheltered Perkin Warbeck.

1503. Later, became more friendly with England. Married Margaret Tudor.

1513. Invaded England when Henry VIII was in Flanders. Battle of Flodden. James slain.

JAMES V:

Margaret Tudor Regent. Friendly with England.

James grew up. Unfriendly towards England. Refused to meet Henry VIII. Married Mary of Guise, and so maintained the French connection.

1542. Scottish invasion of England. Battle of Solway Moss. Scots defeated. James died soon after.

MARY STUART—REGENCY OF MARY OF GUISE:

1543. 1544. Proposed marriage of Prince Edward with Mary Stuart. Failure of negotiations. Hertford invaded Scotland.

1547. Renewed negotiations. Again failed. Somerset (Hertford) invaded Scotland. Battle of Pinkie. English victory. Mary sent to France.

SCOTTISH REFORMATION:

Protestants persecuted by Regent and by Cardinal Beaton. Murder of Beaton.

John Knox preached Protestantism in Scotland. Supported by Lords of the Congregation. Fighting between the Lords and the Regent's forces. Lords captured Edinburgh.

Regent appealed to France for help. Lords appealed to Elizabeth. French and English forces sent to Scotland. Regent died.

1560. Treaty of Edinburgh:
(1) Foreign troops to leave Scotland.
(2) Lords to settle Scottish religion.

1561. Presbyterianism established as religion of Scotland.

MARY STUART:

1558. Mary married Dauphin.
1559. Dauphin became King of France as Francis II.
1560. Francis II died.
1561. Mary returned to Scotland. Little power. Lords of the Congregation all-powerful.
1565. Mary married her cousin, Lord Darnley. Unsuitable match. Darnley jealous of Mary's favourite, Rizzio.
1566. Murder of Rizzio. Birth of Mary's son James.
1567. Murder of Darnley. Suspicion fell upon Bothwell, who was charged and acquitted. Mary married Bothwell. Suspected of being concerned in Darnley's murder.
1567. Lords of the Congregation rebelled. Battle of Carberry Hill. Mary captured. Deposed. Imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle. Her son James became King.
1568. Mary escaped. Battle of Langside. Mary defeated and fled to England.

JAMES VI:

Regency of Scottish Lords. James brought up as a Presbyterian. Lords friendly with England. James grew up, remaining friendly with Elizabeth, whom he hoped to succeed.

ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS IN THE PERIOD:

Unfriendly while efforts at friendship were based upon marriage alliances.

Friendly after the Reformation, in which both countries took the same side.

16. MARY STUART IN ENGLAND

MARY'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND:

Asked for a safe-conduct through England to France.

COURSES OPEN TO ELIZABETH:

(Mary had for some time claimed to be rightful Queen of England.)

(1) To let her go to France. But Mary in France would, with Guise's help, attempt to obtain the English throne.

(2) To send her back to Scotland. But this would be so ungenerous that Elizabeth was unwilling to do it.
(3) To keep her a prisoner in England. But she would be the centre of Roman Catholic plots and intrigues. But she could be watched, and this course seemed to present the least objection.

Elizabeth stated that Mary might go to France when her innocence of complicity in Darnley's murder had been proved.

1569. COMMISSION OF INQUIRY:

At York. Under presidency of Duke of Norfolk. Lords of the Congregation sent the Casket Letters to prove Mary's guilt. Letters were possibly forgeries, but the real proof of Mary's guilt rested upon her marriage with Bothwell.

Commission reached no definite decision.

ROMAN CATHOLIC ACTIVITY ON MARY'S BEHALF:

Norfolk:

1569. Proposed to marry Mary. Probably treasonable. Norfolk arrested. Released on promising to give up his plan.

The Northern Earls:

1569. Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland rebelled and captured Durham. Fled on approach of royal troops.

Ridolfi:

1571–2. Plot between Dukes of Norfolk and Alva, for Spanish invasion of England and deposition of Elizabeth in favour of Mary. Ridolfi, a banker, acted as intermediary. Plot discovered. Norfolk and Ridolfi put to death.

Throgmorton:

1583. Assassination plot. Inspired by Jesuits. Discovered. Plotters executed. Bond of Association formed for the Queen's protection.

Babington:

1586. Assassination plot. Inspired by Douai priests. Discovered. Plotters executed. Mary was proved to have knowledge of this plot.

EXECUTION OF MARY:

1587. After her complicity in Babington's plot had been proved. Her execution was a challenge to Spain and indicated that England was ready to meet the Armada.

17. MARITIME ACTIVITY IN THE TUDOR PERIOD

THE ENGLISH BEFORE THE TUDOR PERIOD:

Little taste for maritime activity. Foreign trade carried in foreign ships.

HENRY VII:

Cabot:

1497–8. An Italian in English service. Voyages to Newfoundland and the mainland of North America.

HENRY VIII:

Understood the importance of sea power.
Built ships for the navy.
Established Trinity House.
Encouraged deep-sea fishing.
Encouraged the building of merchant ships.

CHANNEL ROVERS:

In the latter part of the period. Pirates in the English Channel. Attacked Spanish merchant ships. School of seamanship. Weakened Spanish power at sea.

ELIZABETH:

Conflict between England and Spain inevitable. Supply of treasure needed. Spain possessed treasure from New World.
Methods of obtaining treasure:
(1) By trading.
(2) By piratical attack.
(3) By settlement in lands hitherto unoccupied.
(4) By exploration, leading, possibly, to the discovery of a new route to the East.

TRADING:

Hawkins:

1562– 1564– 1567. Three voyages. Attempted to sell negro slaves to Spanish settlers in America. Spain maintained monopoly of her colonial trade. Hawkins successful in two voyages, since there was no Spanish force to prevent him from trading. Third voyage was disastrous. Spanish fleet sank three of his ships.

PIRATICAL ATTACK:

Drake:

Channel Rover. Accompanied Hawkins on third voyage. Many subsequent voyages to the Spanish Main. Attacked and captured Spanish ships and settlements. Voyage round
1577–80. the world. Later voyages. Fought against the Armada.

SETTLEMENT:

Raleigh:

1585–7. Two attempts to form a settlement in Virginia. Both failed.

Gilbert:

1583. Attempt to form a settlement in Newfoundland. Failed.

EXPLORATION:

Willoughby and Chancellor:

1553. Attempted to discover a North-East passage to India. Willoughby died. Chancellor reached the White Sea. Travelled overland from Archangel to Moscow, and thence to the Caspian Sea. Russia Company formed.

Frobisher:

1576–7–8. Three attempts to discover a North-West passage to India. Failed.

Davis:

1585–6–7. Three attempts to discover a North-West passage to India. Failed.

18. ELIZABETH'S FOREIGN POLICY

ELIZABETH'S POSITION:

Right to throne disputed. Roman Catholics regarded Mary Stuart as rightful Queen.

Philip offered to marry Elizabeth and support her against Mary. Elizabeth refused, being sure that Philip would not support Mary against her, as this would be to French advantage.

ELIZABETH'S FOREIGN POLICY:

(1) To avoid definite alliances. To play off France and Spain against each other. Neither would attack her, lest she should ally with the other.

(2) To postpone the inevitable war with Spain as long as possible, while England was growing stronger and Spain was being weakened.

ELIZABETH AND FRANCE:

Civil wars in France between Catholics and Huguenots. Elizabeth encouraged Huguenots. Little actual help, except from English volunteers.

Negotiations carried on for a marriage between Elizabeth and a French prince. She had no real intention of marrying.

ELIZABETH AND SPAIN:

War inevitable, especially after 1570.

Elizabeth permitted unofficial attacks upon Spanish power.

(1) English volunteer help to the Dutch in their struggle against Spain.

(2) Channel Rover attacks on Spanish shipping.

(3) Piratical attacks on the Spanish Main and elsewhere.

1580. After Drake's return from his voyage round the world she acted more boldly and openly against Spain.

1580. (1) She knighted Drake.

1584. (2) Spanish ambassador dismissed.

1585. (3) Jesuits expelled.

1585–7. (4) English army under Leicester sent to the Netherlands.

1587. (5) Execution of Mary Stuart.

AFTER THE ARMADA:

The Queen triumphant. The soundness of her policy had been proved. No further possibility of losing the throne. Great reputation at home and abroad.

On friendly terms with Henry IV of France, who was at war with Spain from 1589 till 1598.

English war with Spain lasted till after Elizabeth's death.

19. THE ELIZABETHAN WAR WITH SPAIN

CAUSES OF SPANISH ATTACK:

1570. (1) The excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth by the Pope. Philip would be carrying out the papal sentence.
(2) Elizabeth was regarded as the champion of the Protestant powers of Europe, while Philip was the champion of Rome.
(3) English piratical attacks on Spanish shipping in the Channel and on the Spanish Main.
(4) English help to the Dutch.
(5) The execution of Mary Stuart. (Philip was unwilling to attack while Mary lived, but after her death he posed as her avenger.)

THE ARMADA:

1587. Preparations. Drake's attack upon Cadiz, resulting in postponement of the expedition.

1588. Spanish plan was to transport an army of 19,000 men from Spain to the Netherlands, to receive there an additional force of 16,000 men, and to land the combined army in England.
Fleet sailed in May. Put into port. Sailed in July.
English attacks on Armada in Channel. Spanish put into Calais roads. Cut out by fire-ships.
Battle of Gravelines. Spanish totally defeated. Retreated northwards. Round the British Isles and back to Spain. Very heavy losses.

RESULTS OF DEFEAT OF THE ARMADA:

(1) No further fear of Spanish conquest of England.
(2) No further fear of the forcible re-conversion of England to the Roman Catholic faith.
(3) Revolt of the Netherlands continued until it was successful.
(4) Beginning of the decline of Spanish power.

THE LATER YEARS OF THE WAR:

1589. Drake's attack on Lisbon failed.
1591. Grenville in the *Revenge* fought a Spanish fleet of fifty-three ships.
1596. Second Armada prepared. Howard and Essex captured Cadiz and destroyed the ships.
1597. A further Spanish attempt failed.
1598. Philip died. War continued.
1603. Elizabeth died.
1604. James I made peace.

20. IRELAND DURING THE TUDOR PERIOD

IRELAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PERIOD:

Irish lived in tribes. Loyal only to tribal heads. Great families ruled in their own territories. Little English authority. English king was "Lord of Ireland."
The Pale. Strip of east-coast territory in which English rule was recognised. Governed by a Lord Deputy appointed by the king. Often raided by tribes of the Irishry.

The Englishry. Acknowledged English authority, though not submissive to it.
The Irishry. Did not acknowledge English authority.
The whole country poor, backward, ignorant, oppressed. Constant inter-tribal warfare.

HENRY VII:

Appointed Kildare (Fitzgerald) Lord Deputy. Disloyal. Supported Simnel and Warbeck. Removed for a time. Restored. Ruled till his death. (1496–1513.)

1494. Poynings sent over from England as Lord Deputy when Kildare was removed from the post.

1494. Poynings' Law. Passed by the Irish Parliament.
(1) No Parliament to meet in Ireland without the king's consent.
(2) No law to be passed by the Irish Parliament without the king's previous consent.
(3) Existing English law to hold good in Ireland.

HENRY VIII:

1513. Ninth Earl of Kildare appointed to succeed his father as Lord Deputy. Disloyal. Put in the Tower. Died. Fitzgeralds revolted. Crushed. Members of the family put to death. Lands forfeited.
Irish Church separated from that of Rome. King at head. Irish monasteries dissolved.

1542. Henry assumed title of "King of Ireland."

MARY:

Lands of O'Connor and O'More (Leix and Offaly) confiscated. Plantation of English settlers. King's County and Queen's County.

ELIZABETH:

1567–8. Shane O'Neill's revolt, in Ulster. Order restored.
1579–84. Desmond revolt, in Munster. Crushed. Desmond lands forfeited. Plantation of Munster.
1598–1603. Hugh O'Neill's revolt. Crushed by Mountjoy, after Essex had failed.

21. PARLIAMENT IN TUDOR TIMES

ITS COMPOSITION:

King.
House of Lords.
(1) All lay peers, of whatever title.
(2) Archbishops, bishops, and mitred abbots and priors.
House of Commons.
(1) Two knights from every county.
(2) Two citizens from every city.
(3) Two burgesses from every borough that was represented.
The common people were not represented. Only landowners in counties and wealthy townsmen in towns had a vote at an election.

ITS FUNCTIONS:

(1) To make laws, or changes in existing law.
(2) To levy taxes, or make changes in existing taxes.
(3) To impeach a minister whose rule was unjust.

Parliament did not rule the country. To do this was the right and duty of the king.

New laws and new taxes were rarely required. There was no need for the regular meeting of Parliament. It was called only when the king wished. There were sometimes long periods without a meeting of Parliament.

HENRY VII:

Called Parliament rarely.

HENRY VIII:

1509–14. At first called a Parliament every year.

1514–29. During the period of Wolsey's power it met only once. Called
1523. to grant the King a large sum of money. Granted a smaller sum. Wolsey preferred to rule with the aid of the Council and the Star Chamber.

1529–36. The Reformation Parliament. Passed the Acts necessary for the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome, and for the establishment of the King as Head of the Church.

1529–44. Parliament twice cancelled Henry's debts, and gave his pro-
1539. clamations the force of law.

No abbots or priors in the House of Lords after the dissolution of the monasteries.

ELIZABETH:

Summoned Parliaments from time to time, for short meetings. Not quite so submissive as Parliaments of Henry VIII. Queen avoided, as far as possible, asking Parliament for grants of money.

Parliament readily passed the laws relating to the religious settlement, and those needed after 1570 in reply to the papal sentence of excommunication and deposition.

Friction between Parliament and the Queen on

(1) The question of her marriage.
(2) Certain religious matters.

1601. (3) The monopoly question, on which the Queen gave way.

REASONS FOR ABSENCE OF ANTAGONISM BETWEEN CROWN AND PARLIAMENT IN THE TUDOR PERIOD:

(1) Infrequency of the meeting of Parliament.
(2) The presence of members who would support the Crown.
  (*a*) In the Lords—the newer nobility and the bishops.
  (*b*) In the Commons—the summoning of members from towns of little importance but certain loyalty.
(3) Disinclination to embark upon internal conflict in view of the national danger from Spain.
(4) Crown and Parliament with common aims—nothing to quarrel about. Nation trusted Crown.

THE STUART PERIOD

22. THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

A KING:

Either an official of high rank, *or* Divinely appointed.

DIVINE RIGHT (as believed by the Stuarts and their supporters):

The king is appointed to rule by God.

He is responsible to God and not to his people.

The people must obey and not rebel. Rebellion is a sin against God as well as a crime against the king.

The people may not oppose the king in any way. They may not depose him.

An unworthy king will be called to account by God after this life.

If the king rules harshly, the people are to regard his tyranny as sent by God in punishment for their sins. The remedy is repentance, prayer, and fasting.

HEREDITARY SUCCESSION:

At the king's death Divine Right passes to his eldest son or other nearest relative.

A usurping king has no Divine Right and never obtains it.

The rightful king and his successors retain Divine Right, no matter for how long they may be dispossessed.

THE KING'S DUTY:

It is the duty as well as the right of the king to rule.

The king must hand on to his successor his power unimpaired and undiminished.

If he yields any of his power to his subjects he is failing in his duty towards God.

(Consequently, the most conscientious kings were the most obstinate and unyielding.)

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

Accepted Divine Right as part of its doctrine. The Stuart kings supported the Church.

ORIGIN OF THE THEORY:

In the Middle Ages Popes and Emperors both claimed the lordship of the world. The Popes claimed to be God's representatives on earth. Therefore, the Emperors also claimed Divine authority. In course of time this claim was made by Kings also.

23. RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I

RELIGIOUS GROUPS AT THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I:

(1) *The Church:*
As settled by Elizabeth. Most of the people approved of it.

(2) *Puritans:*
Wanted the Church to become more Protestant. Many in the Church. Some outside it, forming separate congregations. Hoped for support from James, a Puritan King.

(3) *Papists:*
Mostly recusants, though some attended church to avoid payment of fines. Hoped for better treatment from James than from Elizabeth, since they had suffered for their support of Mary Stuart, James's mother.

JAMES I:

Brought up as a Presbyterian. Disliked Presbyterian system. In England he became head of the Church. Preferred English to Scottish system.

PURITANS AND ARMINIANS:

Puritans wished for further reformation in the Church. Wanted abolition of ceremonial. Wanted doctrinal changes in the direction of Calvinism. Some wanted abolition of episcopacy.

Arminians opposed Puritans. Against any further change in the direction of Protestantism. Catholic in doctrine. Wanted medieval ceremonial, vestments, etc., to be revived or retained. Considered episcopacy essential.

THE PURITANS DURING THE REIGN:

1603. *Millenary Petition:*
Presented to James on his way to London from Scotland. Led to

1604. *Hampton Court Conference:*
Discussion of points raised in the Petition. Settled against Puritans.

The Bible:
1604. New translation ordered by the Conference. Published in 1611. The present Authorised Version.

Pilgrim Fathers:
Some Puritans left England and went to Holland. Later, went
1620. to North America. Settlement at Plymouth.

THE PAPISTS DURING THE REIGN:

(1) *Loyalists:*
Hoped for better treatment as the result of loyalty. At first seemed to be successful. Laws relaxed. Increased numbers of recusants. James alarmed. Laws enforced.

(2) *Jesuits:*
Aimed at plotting against the King, and foreign invasion.

1605. *Gunpowder Plot:*
Failed. Resulted in
(1) Sterner laws against Papists.
(2) Popular distrust of Papists.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY:

1604. *John Whitgift:*
Died in 1604.

1604–10. *Richard Bancroft:*
Acted energetically against Puritans.

1610–33. *George Abbot:*
Of Puritan views. Little influence at court.

24. CROWN AND PARLIAMENT IN THE STUART PERIOD

THE KING:

Thought it to be his right and duty to rule the country as his predecessors had done.

PARLIAMENT:

Met only occasionally, when summoned by the king. Long periods without Parliament. No share in ruling the country.
But (1) Only Parliament could make a law.
(2) Only Parliament could levy a tax.
Yet (1) Few new laws were required.
(2) Little taxation was imposed (for Government did not undertake so many expensive activities as it does now).

FINANCE:

It was held that "The king should live of his own." The king should rule the country and should pay the ordinary expenses of government out of his own income. His ordinary income should suffice for ordinary purposes, but if some special expense should arise (such as a war) Parliament was expected to make a grant.
King's ordinary income:
(1) From Crown lands.
(2) From feudal payments made by other landowners.
(3) From tunnage and poundage—import duties sanctioned by Parliament at the beginning of each reign for the term of the king's life.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT:

At the beginning of reign—to grant the new king tunnage and poundage for life.
At other times—if a war broke out, or if a new law was required.
Parliament was expected to act upon the royal request or recommendation.

STUART DIFFICULTIES:

The influx of gold and silver from America to Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries caused a general rise in prices. Money was worth less. Yet the king's income did not expand, or did so more slowly, and the Stuart kings found it difficult to make both ends meet. In debt. Therefore regarded (unjustly) as extravagant. Had to call Parliament and ask for money. Parliament blamed king's ministers, and tried to secure right of compelling king to dismiss them and appoint others of whom they approved. King resented this claim.

But until Parliament secured the right of meeting regularly it could do little towards accomplishing its aims.

25. THE PARLIAMENTS OF JAMES I

PARLIAMENT IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN:

Little friction with Crown, because

(1) Queen rarely needed to ask for money.
(2) Foreign danger.
(3) After Armada, Queen's position secure. Nation and Parliament would not oppose her.

AIMS OF PARLIAMENT IN JAMES I'S REIGN:

(1) To secure a share in the work of government.
(2) To bring about the removal of unpopular ministers.

1604–11. FIRST PARLIAMENT:

1604. Granted the King tunnage and poundage for life.
1606. Laws against Roman Catholics.
1607. Proposal for union between England and Scotland rejected. Increased duty on currants. Bate's case. Book of Rates.
1610. Parliament protested against the New Impositions.
1610. The Great Contract. Proposal to abolish feudal dues and give the King £200,000 per annum. Fell through.

BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND PARLIAMENTS:

King raised money by

(1) Borrowing.
(2) Offering the title of "Baronet" to any one who would give or lend him £1000.

1614. SECOND PARLIAMENT (ADDLED):

Failure of the "Undertakers." No money granted. Parliament dissolved.

1621–2. THIRD PARLIAMENT:

1621. Impeachments revived.
Impeachment of Bacon, Lord Chancellor, for taking bribes. Removed from office.

1622. Petition to King against proposed marriage of Prince of Wales to a Spanish princess. King censured Parliament for meddling with affairs of State. Commons claimed right to discuss all State affairs. King tore the page containing the claim out of the Commons' Journal. Parliament dissolved.

1624. FOURTH PARLIAMENT:

Passed law against monopolies.
Impeached Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer, for embezzlement.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF PARLIAMENT DURING THE REIGN:

(1) Revival of impeachments.
(2) Removal of two prominent ministers.
(3) Law against monopolies.
(4) Protest against the New Impositions.
(5) Made a claim to discuss all State affairs.

But no claim was yet made to meet regularly.

26. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JAMES I

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT BEGINNING OF REIGN:

War with Spain.
Two parties in England:
(1) For continuance of war.
(2) For peace.

KING'S POLICY:

Preferred peace to war, because he had confidence in his diplomatic ability. He believed he could gain more by diplomacy than by war.

1604. PEACE WITH SPAIN:

(1) James reserved right to continue to help Dutch.
(2) James would not renounce right claimed by English to trade with Spanish colonies.

1604–1610. JAMES AND FRANCE:

Henry IV (Catholic, but favoured Huguenots) aimed at releasing France from the stranglehold of the Catholic powers (Empire and Spain). Alliance of Protestant powers (Dutch, German Protestant Princes, and England) with France, against Spain and the Empire. War threatened.
1610. Henry assassinated. France for some years was ruled by a regent, Marie de Medici, who allied with Spain.

1610–1625. JAMES AND THE GERMAN PROTESTANT PRINCES:

The alliance already formed was continued.
1613. Frederick, Elector Palatine, married James's daughter, Elizabeth.

1614– JAMES AND SPAIN:
1624. James hoped to avert altogether the European war which was about to begin in 1610 by securing a dominant position from which he could influence both sides in favour of a peaceful settlement. He already stood well with the German Protestant princes. He now tried to obtain the alliance of Spain.

Proposed marriage of Charles, Prince of Wales, with a Spanish princess. Great difficulties.

1616. Raleigh's expedition to Guiana. Inconsistent with real friendship with Spain, but sanctioned because of James's monetary
1618. difficulties. Failure. Death of Raleigh.

1618– THE THIRTY YEARS WAR:
1648. Frederick, Elector Palatine, chosen by Protestants to be King of Bohemia. Driven out of Bohemia by Catholics. Spain joined in the war and drove Frederick out of the Palatinate. War became general.

James tried to stop it by inducing Spain to withdraw from Palatinate. No actual help sent to the Elector at this time.

Prince of Wales and Duke of Buckingham visited Madrid, but marriage negotiations made no progress. They returned. Negotiations dropped.

1624. WAR WITH SPAIN:

English help under Count Mansfeld sent to the Elector.
1625. Failure. James died.

27. JAMES I AND HIS MINISTERS

JAMES I:

Well educated. Versed in logic. Theological knowledge. In advance of his time

(1) In advocating union of England and Scotland.
(2) In preferring peace to war.

His foreign policy represented a great ideal, though he was unable to carry it out.

SIR ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY:

1603–12. Leading minister. Cautious. Favoured peace.

SIR EDWARD COKE:

1616. Attorney-General. Became Lord Chief Justice. Not in favour at Court Dismissed.

FRANCIS BACON:

1621. Attorney-General. Became Lord Chancellor. Fell from power as the result of impeachment.

ROBERT CARR, EARL OF SOMERSET:

The King's favourite for a time. Fell from favour.

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM:

Lord High Admiral. Directed King's policy towards end of reign. Accompanied Prince of Wales to Madrid. Arminian. Disliked by Puritans. Proud. Disliked by nobles.
1623.

Of considerable ability. Tried to secure co-operation of Parliament with the King. Five Parliaments met during the period of his greatest influence. Strengthened navy.
1621–8.

28. THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I

1625–9.

CHARLES I:

Young. Well educated. Deeply religious. Not of great ability. Hesitating. Often changed his mind. Did not fully trust his advisers. Obstinate in following what he thought to be his duty. Firm belief in Divine Right.

1625. Marriage with Henrietta Maria, a French princess. His children being of French blood, showed strong inclination to follow a pro-French policy in the later Stuart period. Henrietta Maria's influence over him was considerable after the first few years of their married life.

1625. FIRST PARLIAMENT:

Finance:

King expected grant of tunnage and poundage for life. Asked for twelve subsidies for the war with Spain.

Parliament granted tunnage and poundage for one year, and two subsidies.

Buckingham:

Parliament made complaints. King understood that if he would dismiss Buckingham he might have the money for which he asked. He dissolved Parliament.

1625. WAR WITH SPAIN:

Cadiz Expedition:

To capture Cadiz and secure treasure fleet upon its arrival from America.

Advantages of the plan:
(1) Blow to Spain.
(2) Relief from financial difficulties.
(3) Would make King and Buckingham popular.

Failure.

1626. SECOND PARLIAMENT:

Impeachment of Buckingham:

Charges not well chosen. Did not amount to treason. Impeachment held up by imprisonment of Sir John Eliot. Eliot released. Impeachment renewed. Parliament dissolved.

1627. WAR WITH FRANCE:

A mistake, in view of the King's financial difficulties.

Real cause:

Antagonism of Buckingham and Richelieu.

Money:

Raised by forced loan.

Rochelle Expedition:

To assist Huguenots who were being besieged by Richelieu in Rochelle. Failure, due to lack of reinforcements.

1628–9. THIRD PARLIAMENT:

1628. *First session:*

Parliament passed the

Petition of Right:

(1) No tax or loan without consent of Parliament.
(2) No imprisonment without cause.
(3) No billeting of soldiers and sailors on private persons.
(4) No trials by martial law in peace-time.

Parliament granted King five subsidies.

Second Rochelle Expedition:

1628. Prepared. Buckingham murdered.

1629. *Second session:*

Complaints of

(1) Continued levying of tunnage and poundage.
(2) Imprisonment of a member of the Commons.
(3) King's advancement of Arminian clergy.

Resolutions of protest passed amid violent scene. Parliament dissolved. King resolved to rule without Parliament.

29. THE NON-PARLIAMENTARY RULE OF CHARLES I

1629–40.

THE KING'S POSITION:

He determined to rule without Parliament. He would get no parliamentary help in his wars. Therefore he must do without wars. Made peace with France and Spain. Abandoned the Elector's cause. He might continue to rule without Parliament so long as war was avoided.

FINANCE:

The King supplemented his ordinary income in various ways, vexatious but not illegal.

(1) Tunnage and poundage levied, on the grounds that
  (*a*) There was long precedent.
  (*b*) King was entitled to regulate trade.
  (*c*) It had not been forbidden in the Petition of Right.
(2) Monopolies granted to companies. Not contrary to law of 1624. King received initial payments and royalties.
(3) Distraint of knighthood. King received fees or fines.
(4) Recovery of lost Crown lands.
(5) Ship-money. Hampden contested it, but the Court of Exchequer Chamber decided in favour of the Crown.

MINISTERS:

Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford:
Formerly opposed court, but supported King after the death of Buckingham.

1628–33. President of the Council of the North.

1633–40. Lord Deputy of Ireland. In close touch with the King by correspondence.

1633–45. *William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury:*
Arminian. Learned and able. Restored order in the Church. Hated by the Puritans, especially for permitting "lawful sports" on Sundays.

COURTS:

Star Chamber. }
Council of the North. } Used by the King in many ways in maintaining his authority.

High Commission Court:
Used by Archbishop Laud in carrying out his reforms.

SCOTLAND:

1633. Charles visited Scotland, in company with Laud, and was crowned at Holyrood Abbey. Extended James I's measures for uniting the Church of England and the Church of Scotland.
(1) More bishops, and more power for the bishops.
(2) Scottish clergy to wear surplices.
(3) Prayer Book to be used in the Scottish Church.
Great opposition to the Prayer Book, because
(1) Scots objected to any set form of prayer.
(2) This book came from a foreign source—Canterbury.

1638. *General Assembly:*
At Glasgow. Representative of Scottish Church and people.
(1) Abolished Prayer Book.
(2) Abolished bishops.
Committees appointed to control national affairs.
Covenant drawn up; accepted by thousands of the people.
King ordered Assembly to disperse. It refused. King gathered forces and marched north.

1639. *First Bishops' War:*
No fighting. King met Leslie at Berwick and agreed to call another Assembly. He did this to gain time.

1640. *Short Parliament:*
Called by Charles in order that he might obtain money. He offered to give up ship-money in return for twelve subsidies. Parliament refused and was dissolved.

1640. *Second General Assembly:*
At Edinburgh. Confirmed the proceedings of the first. King dissolved it.

1640. *Second Bishops' War:*
Scots invaded England and defeated Charles at Newburn.

1640. *Pacification of Ripon:*
Scots to hold Northumberland and Durham, and the King to pay them £850 per day until the Scottish religious question was settled.

1640. *Great Council of Peers:*
At York. Advised King to call a Parliament.

30. THE LONG PARLIAMENT: BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT REBELLION

1640–2.
AIM OF PARLIAMENT:

To destroy the King's system of government completely—his ministers, his courts, his financial system, his ruling without Parliament. King could not dissolve Parliament while the Scots were in the country.

1640–1. FIRST SESSION:

Ministers:

Strafford:

1640. Impeached. Charges did not amount to treason. Impeachment dropped. Act of Attainder passed through Commons. Lords passed it through fear of the mob. King consented
1641. reluctantly. Strafford beheaded.

Laud:

1640. Impeached. Not brought to trial at that time. Left in the Tower.
1645. Beheaded.

Finance:

1641. Tunnage and poundage, ship-money, etc., declared illegal without consent of Parliament.

Courts:

1641. Star Chamber, Council of the North, and High Commission abolished.

Parliament:

1641. (1) This Parliament not to be dissolved without its own consent.
(2) Triennial Act. A Parliament to be summoned every three years.

Grant of money:

1641. Parliament granted the King tunnage and poundage for two months. Grant renewed every two months for about a year.

Split in the parliamentary party:

Some members thought that Parliament had gone far enough. Others wanted to go farther and reduce the King's power to a mere shadow. Henceforth the Court party and the opposition were nearly equal in strength.

1641. *Root and Branch Bill:*
A proposal to abolish bishops in the Church of England. Vigorously opposed. Dropped.

1641. INTERVAL BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS:

King visited Scotland.

(1) Agreed to Scottish demands. Scottish army was withdrawn from the north of England.

(2) "The Incident" occurred. Plot to arrest Presbyterian leaders. King denied all knowledge of it.

(3) King found that parliamentary leaders had been in communication with the Scottish army.

1641–42. SECOND SESSION:

1641. *Grand Remonstrance:*

King failed to reach London before it was passed. It was presented to him.

1642. *The Five Members:*

King attempted to arrest five members of the Commons for treason. Failed. He left London in order to raise forces with which to return and forcibly dissolve Parliament.

1642. *The Bishops Act:*

Deprived bishops of their seats in the House of Lords. King agreed, to gain time.

1642. *Militia:*

King would not consent to give up command.

1642. *Nineteen Propositions:*

King refused to agree. No further negotiations.

31. THE GREAT REBELLION

1642–46.

KING'S AIM:

To raise forces and march on London in order to dissolve Parliament.

PARLIAMENT'S AIM:

To hold out long enough to make terms with the King.

KING'S SUPPORT:

Most of the Lords and many of the Commons. Country gentlemen and their followers. Churchmen.

PARLIAMENT'S SUPPORT:

London and the large towns of the south-east. The merchant class. The Puritans. Parliamentary forces under the command of the Earl of Essex.

1642. FIRST CAMPAIGN:

King gathered army at Nottingham. Essex encountered him at Edgehill, but was unable to prevent him from continuing his march towards London. King reached Brentford. Train-bands of London mustered to defend city. Earthworks at Turnham Green. King did not attack, but retired to Oxford for the winter.

1642-3. WINTER:

Both sides tried to strengthen forces.

1643. SECOND CAMPAIGN:

King planned threefold attack on London. Newcastle in the north and Hopton in the south-west failed to advance. King besieged Gloucester. Relieved by the London train-bands. Train-bands defeated King at Newbury on their way back to London. Hampden killed at Chalgrove. No great advantage to either side by end of summer.

1643-4. WINTER:

(1) King secured help of 10,000 Irish.
(2) Parliament made treaty with Scots. "Solemn League and Covenant." Scots to send 20,000 men to help Parliament, at English expense, and on condition that Church of England was made Presbyterian.
(3) Cromwell raised and trained a force of Puritan cavalry—the Ironsides.

1644. THIRD CAMPAIGN:

King's Irish allies were defeated by Fairfax and many of them took service with the parliamentary forces.
Cromwell besieged Newcastle at York. Rupert advanced to relieve it and the siege was raised.
Battle of Marston Moor. Ironsides and Scots defeated Rupert.
King held his own in west and south-west.

1644-5. WINTER:

(1) New Model Army formed, on a Puritan basis, by Fairfax and Cromwell.
(2) Self-denying Ordinance passed by Parliament. Members of Parliament debarred from holding commands in the army. Cromwell an exception. This measure was for the purpose of getting rid of incompetent officers.

1645. FOURTH CAMPAIGN:

Battle of Naseby. New Model Army defeated King. Decisive.
King tried to march to Scotland but was again defeated.

1646. FIFTH CAMPAIGN:

New Model Army captured all remaining places, including Oxford. War at an end. King surrendered to Scots at Newark.

REASONS FOR THE KING'S FAILURE:

(1) Indifferent leadership. A characteristic of both sides at first, but it was remedied on the Puritan side. Rupert acted rashly. Hopton and Newcastle were second-rate commanders.
(2) King failed to grasp at his opportunity of victory in 1642.
(3) Defection of the navy.
(4) Value of the Scottish alliance to Parliament.
(5) Formation of the New Model Army.

32. THE CAPTIVITY AND DEATH OF CHARLES I

1646–9.

1646. KING A PRISONER OF THE SCOTS:

At Newark. He hoped to persuade them to restore him to the throne.

Scottish demands of the King:

(1) The abolition of bishops and the establishment of Presbyterianism in England.

(2) That he should take the Covenant.

King refused, hoping to secure better terms from English.

Scots surrendered the King to parliamentary commissioners in return for payment of their arrears of pay (£400,000).

1647. KING A PRISONER OF PARLIAMENT:

At Holmby House.

Two groups in Parliament—Presbyterian and Independent. Presbyterians more numerous in Parliament, but army mainly Independent.

Parliament proposed to disband army with one-sixth of its pay. Army, disliking this, determined to take possession of the King. Cornet Joyce secured him.

1647. KING A PRISONER OF THE ARMY:

At Newmarket. Afterwards at Hampton Court.

Heads of the Proposals offered to the King by the Army Council. Fair terms—better than the Nineteen Propositions. King would not accept them.

1647–8. KING AT CARISBROOKE:

Fled thither from Hampton Court. Negotiated with the Scots.

The Engagement:

Agreement between King and Scots.

(1) Scots to restore King to throne.

(2) King to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years.

1648. SECOND CIVIL WAR:

Royalists
English Presbyterians
Scottish Presbyterians } *v.* New Model Army.

English Royalists defeated by Fairfax at Maidstone and Colchester.

Scots invaded England. Defeated by Cromwell at Preston, Wigan, and Warrington.

1648–9. TRIAL OF THE KING:

For the bloodshed of the Second Civil War.

Presbyterian majority in Parliament unwilling to appoint a court to try the King.

Colonel Pride expelled the Presbyterian members. The Independent remnant, known henceforth as the "Rump," acted as Parliament.

Court of 130 members appointed by the Rump. Many refused to serve.

Trial in Westminster Hall. King sentenced to be beheaded.

1649. THE KING'S DEATH:

At Whitehall. Charles behaved with dignity and courage.

Unwisdom of the act. The nation as a whole strongly disapproved. From this time Royalist opinion prevailed. Puritan rule was possible only by force of arms. At the earliest opportunity the people recalled Charles II.

33. OPPOSITION TO THE COMMONWEALTH

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN 1649:

Only the Rump left of the Long Parliament. It declared
- (1) Monarchy and House of Lords to be abolished.
- (2) England to be a Commonwealth and a Free State.
- (3) A Council of State, of forty-one members, to rule.

Commonwealth opposed everywhere:
- Royalist hostility in England.
- Royalist revolt in Ireland.
- Scotland ready to recognise Charles II.
- Rupert in the Channel.
- No foreign recognition. Possibility of foreign war.

1649. REVOLT OF THE LEVELLERS:

The Levellers were a Puritan faction. Numerous in the army. Mutiny. Crushed by Cromwell. Discipline restored.

1649. IRELAND:

Ormond raised Royalist army. Garrisons in east coast towns.

Cromwell crossed over. Capture of Drogheda and Wexford and massacre of garrisons. Resistance broken. Ormond fled. Royalist lands confiscated and given to Puritan soldiers and to Londoners who had financed the expedition. Ireton Governor of Ireland. Stern rule.

1650. SCOTLAND:

Royalist rising, headed by Montrose, against Presbyterian Government. Failed. Montrose put to death.

Charles II took the Covenant. Accepted as King of Scotland. Crowned at Scone.

Cromwell invaded Scotland. Defeated Leslie at Battle of Dunbar. Marched north against Charles, who marched into England, hoping for a Royalist rising.

1651. Cromwell followed Charles. Battle of Worcester. King defeated. Fled to France.

Scotland left under the governorship of General Monk.

1652–3. DUTCH WAR:

Causes:
Economic:
Commercial rivalry.
1623. Massacre of Amboyna, hitherto unavenged.
1651. Navigation Act.
Political:
Dutch support to Charles II.
Murder of Commonwealth ambassador to Holland.
Events:
Series of naval fights between Blake and Van Tromp.
Van Tromp slain at the Battle of the Texel.
1654. *Peace:*
Treaty of Westminster:
(1) Dutch to pay compensation for the massacre at Amboyna.
(2) Dutch to recognise Navigation Act.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN 1653:

All opposition to the Commonwealth had been crushed. British Isles sullen, but unable to rise. Foreign powers uneasy. Realised that Commonwealth was powerful.

34. THE ORGANISATION OF PURITAN RULE

1649–1653. THE RUMP IN POWER:

(1) The Rump was Parliament.
(2) The Council of State ruled. Substantially the same members.

Unsatisfactory, especially to the army. While the army was engaged in fighting no attempt was made to reform the government, but the soldiers intended to establish a proper government when hostilities ceased.

1653. PROPOSED REFORM:

Proposed by Rump, to forestall army.
(1) New Parliament to be elected.
(2) Existing members to retain their seats without having to offer themselves for re-election.
(3) Existing members to be entitled to pronounce upon the fitness of the newly elected.

Result would be merely an enlargement of the Rump.
Proposal denounced as dishonest by Cromwell. Apparently dropped.

1653. EXPULSION OF THE RUMP:

Cromwell discovered that the Rump was continuing with its proposals. He censured the members for their duplicity and expelled them.
Council of State dissolved.

1653. CROMWELL'S RULE AS GENERAL OF THE ARMY:

No other authority left in the country than the army. Cromwell anxious to establish a proper form of government.

1653. THE RULE OF THE SAINTS:

Cromwell was at first attracted by the "Fifth Monarchy Men," who believed that Christ would shortly appear to rule, and that until then the "Saints" should rule.

The Little Parliament. A group of 140 Puritans, summoned by Cromwell. Failed. Not sufficiently practical. Dissolved.

Cromwell turned to the Army Council, which drew up the Instrument of Government.

1653. INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT:

(1) England, Scotland, and Ireland to be a Protectorate, under Cromwell as Lord Protector.
(2) Council of State of fifteen members.
(3) Parliament of 460 members. No more than three years between Parliaments. Parliaments to last at least five months.
(4) All persons (except Papists and Malignants) who possessed property worth £200 to have votes.
(5) Parliament to make laws (not contrary to Instrument) and to levy taxes.
(6) Protector not to veto laws.
(7) Protector to have revenue.
(8) Protector to make ordinances.
(9) Freedom of religion to all but Papists and Churchmen.

COMMENT ON THE INSTRUMENT:

Pro.

(1) Better than old system, in that electorate was revised, and parliamentary seats were redistributed.
(2) Union of the whole of the British Isles.
(3) Freedom of religion (but this was only nominal).

Con.

(1) No means of removing an unsatisfactory Protector or councillor.
(2) The question of supremacy was left unsettled.

35. THE PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL

RELIGION:

Church clergy expelled from their livings unless they promised not to use the Prayer Book. Vacancies filled by Puritan ministers.

Church festivals no longer celebrated. Theatres closed. Various popular amusements suppressed. Various customs discontinued.

PARLIAMENTS:

1654. *First:*
Friction with Protector. Parliament dissolved in twenty weeks.

1656–8. *Second:*
Many members opposed to Cromwell. He expelled more than a hundred. Remainder drew up the
Humble Petition and Advice:
(1) Cromwell to become King.
(2) That a second House of Parliament should be established.
Cromwell refused the title of King but established a second House. Renewed disagreements when Parliament met. He dissolved it.

1655. THE MAJOR-GENERALS:
Plot against Cromwell's life. Failed. He maintained order by dividing the country into ten districts, each under the rule of a major-general.

FOREIGN POLICY:
Spain and France still at war. Both sought Cromwell's alliance.
Terms offered to Spain:
(1) Cost of war to be borne by Spain.
(2) English to have Calais.
(3) Direct English trade with Spanish colonies.
(4) English freedom from Inquisition.
Impossibility of acceptance.
Terms offered to France:
(1) Cost of war to be borne by France.
(2) English to receive Dunkirk.
(3) Persecution of the Vaudois by the Duke of Savoy to cease.
Alliance made with France.

1655–8. WAR WITH SPAIN:
1655. Expedition to West Indies. Capture of Jamaica.
1657. Blake captured Spanish treasure ships. Spanish fleet destroyed at Santa Cruz.
1658. New Model in Flanders. Battle of the Dunes. Spanish defeat. Capture of Dunkirk.

1658. DEATH OF CROMWELL.

36. THE FALL OF PURITAN RULE

RICHARD CROMWELL:

1658–9. Protector. Not fitted for the office. Disliked it. No army officer of outstanding capacity, but several who intrigued against Protector and against each other. A Parliament was called and was soon dissolved.
Fleetwood demanded to be appointed General of the Army. Richard refused. Quarrel developed. Richard resigned.

THE GENERALS:

The Rump reassembled. Denounced the Protectorate. Lambert quelled a Royalist rising. Returned to London and expelled the Rump. Rivalry of Lambert and Fleetwood continued.

MONK:

1660. Left Scotland and marched to London without expressing his intentions. Forces of Lambert and those of Fleetwood deserted to join Monk.

The Rump, again restored, was compelled to receive back the Presbyterian members expelled by Pride. Sanctioned its own dissolution.

Monk ordered election of a new Parliament (or Convention).

1660. DECLARATION OF BREDA:

Issued by Charles II from Breda, in Holland. Promised:
(1) General pardon, except to those excepted by Parliament.
(2) Payment and disbandment of army.
(3) Settlement of land question by Parliament.
(4) Liberty to tender consciences.

1660. THE KING:

Invited to return. Landed at Dover. Entered London on his thirtieth birthday.

ADVANTAGES OF PURITAN RULE:

(1) Order maintained.
(2) Union of British Isles effected.
(3) Vigorous foreign policy. England feared and respected abroad.

REASONS FOR FAILURE OF PURITAN RULE:

(1) Not based on support of people, who were alienated by vexatious laws and by interference with old customs.
(2) Rested on support of the army only.
(3) Doomed to failure by the execution of Charles I.

37. THE SETTLEMENT OF AFFAIRS AFTER THE RESTORATION

STATE OF AFFAIRS:

Commonwealth period disregarded. King's reign dated from 1649. Acts of Cromwellian Parliaments treated as null and void, though some of them were re-enacted (e.g. the Navigation Act).

But the Cromwellian conquests (Dunkirk and Jamaica) were retained.

No attempt was made to overthrow the early Acts of the Long Parliament, which had received the assent of Charles I. (The Bishops Act was repealed and the bishops were restored to their seats in the House of Lords.)

THE KING'S INCOME:

(1) From the Crown lands.
(2) From tunnage and poundage, which was granted for life.
(3) From the excise on beer and wines, which had been established in Commonwealth times. The feudal dues, which had been abolished under the Commonwealth, were not revived.

It was estimated that the King would receive £1,200,000 per annum from these sources. Actually received much less.

THE ARMY:

Paid and disbanded, except that two regiments and a few troops of horse were retained as guards.

PUNISHMENT OF REBELS:

General pardon. Those who had been concerned in the death of Charles I (members of the court which tried him) were excepted. Thirteen put to death, twenty-five imprisoned for life.

Bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were disinterred and hanged.

LAND QUESTION:

Lands of Crown and Church restored.

Cavaliers whose lands had been confiscated received them back, but those who had sold their lands, even on behalf of the King, were unrewarded.

RELIGION:

Church of England restored. Surviving bishops resumed their sees. Vacancies filled. Juxon appointed to Canterbury.
1663. Sheldon to London (to Canterbury after Juxon's death).

1661. Attempt to bring about a reconciliation between Puritans and Church. Savoy Conference. Failed.

1662. Act of Uniformity. To expel Puritan ministers from Church livings unless they would
(1) Be ordained by a bishop.
(2) Use the Prayer Book.
(3) Renounce the Covenant.

Some conformed. Most of them refused and were expelled on St. Bartholomew's Day.

SCOTLAND:

The union was disregarded.

Everything done since 1633 was rescinded. Church of Scotland became episcopal once more, but the Prayer Book was not restored.

Argyll put to death for treason.

Scotland ruled by Lauderdale and Sharp.

Persecution of Covenanters.

IRELAND:

Difficulty of settling land question.

1661. Act of Settlement. Confirmed grant of land to Puritan veterans, yet ordered restoration of lands to Irish Royalists.

1665. Act of Explanation. Passed when it became clear that there was not sufficient land to satisfy all claims. Cromwellian grants reduced by one-third.

Duke of Ormond made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Church of Ireland restored, but Roman Catholic worship permitted.

RESULTS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE:

(1) The old system of personal government, that of Charles I, was not restored.
(2) Parliament met regularly in future, and was to be regarded as part of the machinery of government.
(3) King determined to control Parliament henceforth. Beginning of the period of corruption.

38. CHARLES II

THE KING:

Apparently idle and dissolute, leaving the work of government to others.

Really the ablest of the Stuart kings.

Controlled main lines of policy, though he left details to others. Allowed it to appear that his ministers controlled policy, so that blame for unpopular measures fell upon them.

Controlled Parliament by corrupt means.

Supported Church of England. For a time veered towards Church of Rome, but finding this policy unsafe he abandoned it.

Accepted money from Louis XIV, but was not under Louis' control.

No moral or religious principle. Yet firm belief in Divine Right.

General determination to retain his throne and, as far as possible, his power.

LOUIS XIV:

His aims:

(1) To secure for France natural boundaries.
(2) To secure the Rhine boundary by the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands and part of the United Netherlands.
(3) To secure the throne of Spain (for himself or for a member of his family) on the death of Charles II of Spain.
(4) To become Holy Roman Emperor.
(5) To establish the Roman Catholic faith in England. For this purpose he was willing to pay large sums of money to Charles II in order to make him independent of Parliament.

CLARENDON:

1660–7. Lord Chancellor. Chief minister of Charles II.

Carried out the settlement of affairs, already described.

Persecution of Puritans (Clarendon not altogether responsible for it).

1661. (1) Members of corporations to be Churchmen.
1662. (2) Puritan ministers expelled under the Act of Uniformity.
1664. (3) Conventicles forbidden.
1665. (4) Expelled ministers to live at least five miles from towns.

Foreign policy. French alliance.
King married Catherine of Braganza, Portuguese princess.
Dunkirk sold to Louis. Unpopular, but wise.

1665–7. *Dutch War:*
Cause:
1660. Renewal and strengthening of Navigation Act.
Events:
Colonial fighting in North America.
1665. Naval battle off Lowestoft. Indecisive.
English harried Dutch shipping. Then fleet laid up.
1667. Dutch sailed up Thames and Medway to Chatham. Burned ships and dockyard.
1667. *Treaty of Breda:*
English retained New Amsterdam (New York) and New Jersey.

1665. *Great Plague:*
Heavy mortality.

1666. *Great Fire:*
No lives lost. City rebuilt.

1667. *Fall of Clarendon:*
He had become unpopular with all parties. Suggested impeachment. Clarendon alarmed. Fled to France. Act of Attainder. Remainder of his life spent in France.

1667–73. THE CABAL:

Five ministers:
King really controlled affairs and policy. No minister entirely in his confidence.

King's policy:
To become Roman Catholic.
To ally with France.
To become absolute—independent of Parliament.

1668. *Triple Alliance:*
England, Holland, and Sweden against France. Charles's real intention was to ally with France, and he awaited a proposal from Louis to that effect.

1670. *Treaty of Dover:*
(1) Alliance of England and France in the forthcoming war with the Dutch.
(2) Charles to become a Roman Catholic.
(3) Louis to pay Charles 2,000,000 livres.
(4) Louis to help Charles with 6000 troops in the event of rebellion.

Greater part of treaty secret, even from the members of the Cabal.

1672–4. *Dutch War:*
French invasion. Land flooded. Alliance against France formed by Stadtholder, William of Orange.
Naval battle between English and Dutch off Southwold.

1674. Charles made peace.

1678. Louis continued war till 1678. Peace by Treaty of Nijmegen.

Religion:

1673. King attempted to conciliate Dissenters (Puritans) by the issue of a Declaration of Indulgence. Penal laws suspended. Applied equally to Papists. Unconstitutional. Strong criticism in Parliament. Suspicion of the King's Romanising policy. Declaration withdrawn.

1673. *Test Act:*
No Papist to hold office under the Crown. Many men in public positions resigned, including Duke of York, the King's brother and Lord High Admiral, and two members of the Cabal.
King abandoned his policy of securing absolute power by turning Roman Catholic.

1673–7. DANBY:

King's chief minister for some years. Strong supporter of Crown and Church. Preferred Dutch to French alliance. King still friendly with Louis and accepted money from him.

1677. *Marriage:*
William of Orange with Princess Mary of York. Indicated Dutch friendship. Louis alarmed, as his war with the Dutch was still proceeding.

Louis:
Paid money to Charles on several occasions:
(1) To secure a postponement of the meeting of Parliament, which might insist upon Charles entering the war on the Dutch side.
(2) To secure promise of neutrality from Charles.

1678. *Popish Plot:*
Revealed by Titus Oates. Probably with little or no foundation. Plot supposed to be to kill the King, enthrone York, and massacre Protestants.
Much public excitement. Many innocent Roman Catholics put to death, on information supplied by Oates.
Growing demand for the exclusion of the Duke of York, the King's brother and heir, from the succession to the throne.

1678. Parliamentary Test Act. Excluded Papists from Parliament.

1679. *Fall of Danby:*
Louis disliked Danby because of his preference for an Anglo-Dutch alliance. Danby had, at the King's command, written a letter to Louis which seemed to point to his secretly following an Anglo-French policy. Letter sent by Louis to Danby's opponents. Danby impeached. King

dissolved Parliament, which had existed since 1661, to save Danby, and to prevent revelations being made of his negotiations with Louis XIV.

1679–81. THE EXCLUSION STRUGGLE:

Whigs:

King's opponents in Parliament. Led by Shaftesbury, a strong Protestant and a former member of the Cabal. Aimed at securing the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. Relied for support upon the mob, still excited over the Popish Plot.

Tories:

Supporters of the Court.

The King's policy:

To preserve his brother's right of succession. To play a waiting game as far as possible. He thought that the power of the Whigs would die away when popular excitement against the Papists died down.

1679. *First Short Parliament:*

Strongly Whig and Protestant.

Habeas Corpus Act passed. To secure release of persons imprisoned without being brought to trial.

Exclusion Bill. Passed second reading in Commons. King dissolved Parliament.

1680. *Second Short Parliament:*

Elected in October, 1679, but did not meet until October, 1680. King postponed meeting, hoping that anti-popish feeling would diminish.

Exclusion Bill passed Commons. Rejected by Lords.

Commons refused to grant money to King. Parliament dissolved.

1681. *Third Short Parliament:*

Met at Oxford, away from the London mob. Oxford loyal. King negotiated with Whigs, who would not listen to proposals for compromise, but still demanded the Duke's exclusion. King received money from Louis. Independent of parliamentary grant. Dissolved Parliament and never called another.

1682–5. THE LAST YEARS OF THE REIGN:

Whigs:

Ceased to exist as a party. Prominent Whigs punished.

Shaftesbury charged with treason. Released. Organised a rising, which failed. Fled to Holland. Died.

1683. *Rye House Plot:*

Failed. Sidney and Russell executed.

Town charters confiscated:

New charters granted, securing Tory predominance in towns.

1685. *Death of Charles II*

Roman Catholic.

39. JAMES II

THE KING:

A better man than Charles II but not so able.
Firm believer in Divine Right.
Popular at first, despite the recent excitement of the people against Papists.
Roman Catholic. Promised to support the Church of England and to regard his religion as his private affair.

POLICY OF JAMES II:

(1) To rule as an absolute monarch as far as possible.
(2) To ally with Louis XIV.
(3) To restore the Roman Catholic faith in England.

1685. PARLIAMENT:

Strongly Tory. Granted James a revenue of £1,900,000 per annum. King independent of both Parliament and France.

1685. REBELLIONS:

Organised by Whig exiles in Holland.

Argyll's Rebellion:

In Scotland. Failed to rouse the clans. Argyll captured and executed.

Monmouth's Rebellion:

In south-west England. Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis. Proclaimed King at Taunton. Defeated and captured at Sedgemoor. Put to death. Bloody Assize.

THE KING'S ROMANISING MEASURES:

1686. *Claim to the Dispensing Power:*

Commission to Sir Edward Hales, Roman Catholic, with a dispensation authorising him to hold it without taking the oath required by the Test Act. Judges decided that the dispensation was legal. Many appointments of Roman Catholics to posts at court and in the public service. Test Act no longer enforced.

The Universities:

King attempted to establish Roman Catholic influence in the universities by appointing a Roman Catholic president to Magdalen College, Oxford, and by introducing monks at Cambridge.

1686. *Ecclesiastical Commission Court:*

Established by James. Illegal, in view of the Act of 1641 which abolished the High Commission Court.

1687. *Claim to the Suspending Power:*

Two Declarations of Indulgence issued by the King, relieving Dissenters from the penalties imposed by law. King ordered second Declaration to be read in churches. Refusal of the clergy. Petition of seven bishops that James would not enforce the reading of the Declaration.

1688. *Trial of the Seven Bishops:*

For a libel on the King. Acquitted. Public rejoicing.

ARMY:

King gathered an army of 13,000 men, mostly Roman Catholics, at Hounslow, to meet any possible rebellion.

1688. BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES:

Public dismay. The infant Prince became heir to the throne instead of the Princess Mary of Orange. Hitherto a Protestant succession had been expected, but the Prince would be brought up as a Roman Catholic and might be expected to continue his father's policy.

1688. THE INVITATION:

Seven leading men, Whig and Tory, sent to William of Orange an invitation to come over and overthrow King James.

JAMES II'S FOREIGN POLICY:

1686. William formed the League of Augsburg against Louis XIV. James sided with Louis against the League. League not very powerful without the adhesion of England. William was willing to accept the invitation in order to secure the support of England in the forthcoming war between Louis and the League.

1688. WILLIAM'S COMING:

Louis warned James of his danger and threatened to attack the Dutch if they sent an expedition to England. James resented Louis' action. Louis modified his policy. He permitted William to reach England and expected to be called upon to support James. He would thus defeat William and reduce James to subservience at the same time.

William landed at Torbay. Marched to Exeter. English support after a few days. General desertion of James. William moved slowly towards London. James fled to France.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF JAMES:

(1) His Romanising policy—unconstitutional and in defiance of public opinion.
(2) His attack on the seven bishops.
(3) His maintenance of a standing army.
(4) The birth of the Prince of Wales.
(5) His foreign policy. If he had supported the League of Augsburg it is probable that William would not have acted upon the invitation.

40. COLONIES AND TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY COLONISATION:

English and French efforts to establish colonies failed.

Spanish settlements in the West. Portuguese in the East.

1580. Spain conquered Portugal. Portuguese possessions became Spanish. England and Holland at war with Spain at end of century.

EAST INDIES:

1600. *English East India Company:*
Factories on Indian coast.
1612. Surat.
1639. Madras.
1668. Bombay.
1696. Fort William (Calcutta).
Less success in East Indian Archipelago. Dutch opposition.
1623. Massacre of Amboyna.

1602. *Dutch East India Company:*
Strong antagonism to English. Settlements on islands.

1664. *French East India Company:*
No antagonism before eighteenth century.

NORTH AMERICA:

Northern group of settlements:
Puritan. White labour. Agriculture, lumbering, shipbuilding. Various settlements, including
1620. Plymouth (Pilgrim Fathers).
1629. Massachusetts.

Southern group of settlements:
Aristocratic settlers. Anglican and Tory. Labour of slaves and convicts. Tobacco. Various settlements, including
1607. Virginia.
1632. Maryland.
1663. The Carolinas.

1681. *Pennsylvania:*
Quaker. Religious toleration, but laws on moral matters.

West Indies:
Convict and negro slave labour. Tobacco produced at first. Sugar introduced. Islands became important as "sugar colonies." Included
1623. St. Kitts.
1625. Barbados.
1655. Jamaica. By conquest.

CHARACTERISTICS OF COLONIES:

(1) Small as compared with Dominions of the present day. No large surplus of population at home.
(2) Islands or coast settlements. No interior penetration before the construction of railways.
(3) Regarded not as beginnings of new nations, but as outposts of mother country. Produced articles which mother country could not produce and provided markets for manufactured products of mother country.
(4) Trade of colonies under control of mother country, by Navigation Acts.
(5) Mother country responsible for colonial defence.
(6) Politically advanced. Colonial assemblies represented settlers. Made laws.

NAVIGATION ACTS:

(1) Enumerated articles to be sent only to England.
(2) Non-enumerated articles might be exported anywhere.
(3) All exports from colonies, whether enumerated or non-enumerated, to be carried in English or colonial ships. Such ships were to be owned and commanded by Englishmen or colonials and three-quarters of the crew were to be English or colonial.

Advantage of system to England:
Monopoly of colonial produce to detriment of other countries.
Profit on resale to other countries.

Advantage of system to colonies:
Sure market and steady price.

TRADING COMPANIES:

Monopolistic. Charter from Crown. Carried on most of the country's foreign trade. Included:
Merchant Adventurers. North Sea and Baltic.
Muscovy Company. Russia.
Levant Company. Eastern Mediterranean.
East India Company. Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn.
Guinea Company. West Africa.
Hudson's Bay Company. North of North America.

Advantages of company trading over individual effort:
(1) Company would strive, by fair dealing, to maintain English good name in remote regions.
(2) Company powerful enough to bargain with foreign rulers for privileges.
(3) Company could take effective measures against pirates.
(4) Company could be more easily controlled by the Government. Would not countenance smuggling.

Interlopers:
Never entirely put down. Adventurous.

FOREIGN COLONIAL POLICY:

More exclusive than that of England. Spain would not allow foreign trade with her colonies, nor even colonial trade with Spain other than with a privileged company at Seville.
Continued English efforts to break down Spanish monopoly.

41. THE REVOLUTION

WILLIAM'S ARRIVAL IN LONDON:

Legally, no king. Foreign invader. Government at an end. Some disorder. Quickly suppressed. A meeting of leading men asked William to summon a Convention.

1689. THE CONVENTION:

Its business:
To settle the Government of the country.

Parties:

Whigs. Majority in Commons.

(1) No belief in Divine Right. Wanted the election of a king by Parliament in order to assert the supremacy of Parliament over the Crown.

(2) Wanted to exclude Roman Catholics from the throne.

Tories. Majority in Lords.

(1) Belief in Divine Right. Wanted a settlement that would not conflict with that principle.

(2) Wanted to exclude James and retain William as ruler of the country.

Proposed solutions:

(1) James as King in exile—William as Regent.

(2) James treated as mad—William as Regent.

(3) James treated as dead—Mary to be regarded as having succeeded to throne—William would be Prince Consort (this would disregard the claim of the infant Prince of Wales).

But William refused to be either Regent or Prince Consort.

The Settlement:

(1) No Papist to be king in future.

(2) Crown conferred on William and Mary jointly. This arrangement was intended to meet the views of both parties as far as possible.

1689. *Declaration of Right:*

Really a statement of the conditions on which the Crown was being offered to William and Mary.

Declared illegal:

(1) Excessive and cruel punishments.

(2) Ecclesiastical Commission Court.

(3) Suspending power.

(4) Dispensing power as used of late.

(5) Standing army in peace-time without parliamentary consent.

Crown:

Offered to and accepted by William and Mary.

Convention:

Declared to be a Parliament.

1689. THE BILL OF RIGHTS:

Enactment of the Declaration of Right by Parliament with the royal assent, so that it became a law.

Succession:

Included in the Bill of Rights.

(1) William and Mary jointly.

(2) Survivor.

(3) Their children.

(4) Children of Mary, if she outlived William and married again.

(5) Princess Anne and her descendants.

(6) Children of William, if he outlived Mary and married again.

SETTLEMENT OF OTHER MATTERS AFTER THE REVOLUTION:

Finance:

King's personal income and money for government voted separately in future.

King's personal income (Civil List) voted for life.

Money for government voted for a year at a time. Necessary for Parliament to meet every year.

Appropriation of Supplies. Money to be spent on purpose for which it was voted.

Audit of Accounts. After money had been spent.

Religion:

1689. Toleration Act passed, permitting Dissenters to worship in their own conventicles.

William's plan of "comprehension" failed.

Army:

1689. Mutiny Act passed, authorising existence of army for six months. Renewed annually. Necessity for annual meeting of Parliament.

SCOTLAND:

The position:

No Scottish invitation had been sent to William, and the Scots were not bound to follow English example in deposing James. They did follow England because of persecution of Covenanters during reigns of Charles II and James II.

1689. *Lowlands:*

Convention at Edinburgh. Drew up Claim of Right. Presented to and accepted by William and Mary, who were offered the Crown jointly as in England. Church of Scotland to be Presbyterian.

1689. *Highlands:*

Clans roused by Graham of Claverhouse in support of James. Really in opposition to the predominance of the Campbells, who were Whig. Battle of Killiecrankie. Claverhouse defeated Mackay but was slain. Clans dispersed. Mackay advanced into the Highlands. Ordered all chieftains to take oath of allegiance to William by end of 1691. All did so except MacIan, chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who

1692. was late. Massacre of Glencoe.

IRELAND:

Irish were Roman Catholic and were ready to support James against William. James intended to begin with Ireland in the recovery of his position, but the real Irish aim was the separation of Ireland from England.

1689. James with French troops landed at Kinsale. Reached Dublin. Roman Catholic Parliament. Repealed Act of Settlement of 1661 and passed Act of Attainder against 2300 Irish Protestants. They retreated to Ulster and defended themselves at Derry and Enniskillen. Both towns besieged. Both held out successfully.

1689. William sent troops to Ireland and followed them next year.
1690. Battle of the Boyne. James defeated. Fled to France.
Reconquest completed by Ginkel and Churchill. Much fighting.
1691. Capture of Limerick.
1691. *Treaty of Limerick:*
(1) Irish troops might lay down arms, or enter William's service, or go abroad and enter service of Louis.
(2) Roman Catholic worship to be permitted in Ireland.
1695. Protestant Parliament disregarded terms of treaty and passed series of repressive laws against Roman Catholics.

RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION:

(1) Complete change in English foreign policy. The Anglo-French friendship, which had existed in the main since the reign of Elizabeth, ended. Enmity of England and France for the next century and a quarter. Seven great wars in this period. England entered the War of the League of Augsburg against France.
(2) The question of supremacy between Crown and Parliament was settled in favour of Parliament. Future kings could not claim Divine Right.
(3) Parliament henceforth an essential and permanent part of the machinery of government. Regular meeting assured by granting money annually and passing Mutiny Act annually.
(4) Religious toleration established. Not yet complete, but the State no longer attempted to enforce uniformity of religion.
(5) Scotland followed English lead, and the way was prepared for a union of the two countries on equal terms.
(6) Ireland opposed the Revolution, was conquered, and remained in a subordinate position.

42. THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG

THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG:

Emperor
Spain
Holland
Brandenburg
England
} against France.

CAUSES OF THE WAR:

Anger and alarm of European powers at the aggressions of Louis XIV.
Louis' determination to replace James II on the English throne.

FRENCH ADVANTAGES:

Large population. Army large, well equipped, and undefeated. Navy built during Louis' reign.

ADVANTAGES OF THE LEAGUE:

The alliance of the maritime powers, England and Holland.

EVENTS OF THE WAR:

Naval:

1690. Battle of Beachy Head. French defeated English and Dutch. Preparations for invasion of England. William's throne in danger.

1692. Battle of La Hogue. English victory over French. Danger of invasion past.

1693. Loss of Smyrna fleet.

1694. English attack on Toulon. Failed.

Land:

Mostly in the Spanish Netherlands. Luxemburg and Vauban against William.

1690. Battle of Fleurus. French victory.

1692. Namur captured by French.

1692. Battle of Steinkirk. Luxemburg defeated William.

1693. Battle of Landen. Luxemburg defeated William. William acted skilfully in withdrawing in good order.

1695. William recaptured Namur. Enhanced his military reputation.

1697. TREATY OF RYSWICK:

(1) Louis to restore all conquests made on the continent since 1678, except Strassburg.

(2) Louis to recognise William as King of Great Britain.

Neither side really defeated, but both willing to make peace in view of the imminence of the Spanish Succession question.

43. THE RULE OF WILLIAM III

HIS DIFFICULTIES:

(1) Foreign and unpopular.

(2) Poor health.

(3) Activity of the Jacobites (supporters of James).

(4) Untrustworthiness of his ministers, many of whom were from time to time in communication with James.

(5) The war with France.

THE NON-JURORS:

Many of the clergy of the Church of England refused to take the oath recognising William as Head of the Church. They were removed and their places were filled. They continued the line of seceding clergy by fresh ordinations.

1696. JACOBITE PLOT:

To assassinate William. Discovered. Sir John Fenwick put to death. Bond of Association formed.

MINISTRIES:

1689–96. *Mixed:*

William chose Whig and Tory ministers in order that he might be regarded as King of the nation and not of one party. Tories untrustworthy. One by one removed and replaced by Whigs.

1696–1700. *Whig:*
(The Junto.) The first ministry of one party. William confided in his Dutch followers more than in his ministers. Tory majority in Parliament. William reluctantly dismissed Junto and appointed Tory ministers.

1700–2. *Tory:*
Passed the Act of Settlement and the Act for the Attainder of the "Pretender" through a Tory Parliament.

1702. *Whig:*
New Parliament elected shortly before King's death. He dismissed some Tory ministers and reappointed Whigs.

Constitutional principles:
Established in this reign.
(1) Ministers must be of one party.
(2) Ministers must be of the party which possesses a majority in the House of Commons.

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES:

Arising out of the war. Montagu raised money in various new ways.
1692. (1) Land tax of four shillings in the pound.
1693. (2) Beginning of the National Debt.
1694. (3) Establishment of the Bank of England. Managed new loans.
1695. (4) New coinage, with milled edges to the coins. Beneficial effect on trade.

1701. ACT OF SETTLEMENT:

Passed because of the failure of the succession arranged in the Bill of Rights (death of the Duke of Gloucester). 1700.

The Succession:
(1) After Anne's death, crown to pass to Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I, and her descendants, being Protestant.
(2) No Papist or person married to a Papist to succeed to throne.
(3) Sovereign to be in communion with Church of England.

Judges:
Not to be dismissed except for misconduct.

Other clauses:
(1) King not to leave England without consent of Parliament.
(2) Matters of State to be settled in full Privy Council.
(3) No pensioner or placeman to sit in the House of Commons.
(4) Aliens not to have grants of land, nor to be members of Parliament or of the Privy Council, nor to hold any place of trust.

Comment on the Act of Settlement:
(1) Protestant succession maintained. Act badly drawn up.
(2) Independence of the judges established.
(3) Remaining clauses intended as insults to William. Repealed or modified after his death.
(4) Act passed by a Tory Parliament. Tories had accepted Revolution settlement.

44. THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF SPAIN:

1572–1659.
(1) The strain of numerous wars.
(2) No internal development.
(3) Privileges of nobles and clergy.
(4) Charles II, King of Spain, was weak in mind and body. No children.

SPANISH DOMINIONS:

In Europe.
Spain.
Naples.
Milan.
Tuscan ports.
Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles.
Spanish Netherlands.
Certain Rhenish territories in the Empire.

In Africa.
Some possessions on the north coast.

In America.
Mexico.
Central America.
Most of West Indies.
Most of South America.

In Asia.
Philippine Islands.

CLAIMANTS TO THE SPANISH THRONE:

Philip, Duke of Anjou:
Grandson of Louis XIV. The best genealogical claim, but it was invalidated by the renunciations of his grandmother, Maria Theresa, and his great-grandmother, Anne of Austria. His succession to Spain would endanger the balance of power by making France too powerful.

Archduke Charles:
Second son of Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor and Archduke of Austria. Strongest legal claim, as others were affected by renunciations. His succession to Spain would endanger the balance of power by making Austria too powerful.

Joseph Ferdinand:
Electoral Prince of Bavaria. Claim affected by renunciation made by his mother, Maria Antona. His succession to Spain would not affect the balance of power, and as he was a child he might be brought up in Spain as a Spaniard.

PARTITION TREATIES:

Made by Louis XIV and William III in order to settle the question, if possible, without war.

1698. *First Partition Treaty:*

Joseph Ferdinand.	To be King of Spain with the Spanish Netherlands and the New World possessions.
Philip.	To have Naples.
Charles.	To have Milan.

King and people of Spain angry. Charles II made a will leaving to Joseph Ferdinand all the Spanish dominions.

1699. Joseph Ferdinand died.

1700. *Second Partition Treaty:*

Charles.	To be King of Spain, with the Spanish Netherlands and the New World possessions.
Philip.	To have Naples and Lorraine.
Duke of Lorraine.	To receive Milan in exchange for Lorraine.

1700. Charles II made a will leaving to Philip all Spanish dominions. If he did not accept, all were to be offered to Charles.

1700. DEATH OF CHARLES II OF SPAIN:

After some hesitation Louis XIV disregarded the Partition Treaty he had made and recognised Philip, Duke of Anjou, as King of Spain with the title of Philip V.

CAUSES OF THE WAR:

(1) Louis' disregard of the Partition Treaty and the consequent effect on the balance of power.

1701. (2) Louis' recognition of the son of James II as King of England, in disregard of the Treaty of Ryswick.

(3) The desire of English merchants to participate in trade with Spanish colonies.

(4) English need for a naval base in the Mediterranean, to protect Levantine trade from the Spanish and the Corsairs.

1702–1713. WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION:

Alliances:

England Holland Emperor Brandenburg Hanover Savoy Portugal	against	France. Spain. Bavaria. Cologne.

Advantages:

French:

(1) Large undefeated army.
(2) Large population and resources.
(3) No longer without allies.
(4) Internal lines of communication.
(5) Undivided command.

Allies:

(1) Naval strength.
(2) Genius of Marlborough and Eugene.

Events in the Netherlands and Central Europe:

1702. Marlborough on the Dutch frontier.
1703. Marlborough moved up the Rhine and captured Bonn. Cologne made peace.
1704. Louis planned attack on Vienna, in conjunction with Elector of Bavaria. Marlborough made rapid march across Germany, joined Eugene and defeated French at Battle of Blenheim. Emperor saved. Bavaria made peace.
1705. Marlborough again on Dutch frontier.
1706. Marlborough defeated French at Battle of Ramillies. Conquered large part of Spanish Netherlands.
1707. French recovered part of the lost territory.
1708. Marlborough defeated French at Battle of Oudenarde. Again conquered part of Spanish Netherlands.
1709. Marlborough defeated French at Battle of Malplaquet. Heavy losses. Way open into France.

Events in Italy:

1706. Battle of Turin. Eugene defeated French, who were driven out of Italy. Milan and Naples became Austrian.

Events in Spain:

Archduke Charles made Barcelona his headquarters. Catalonia loyal to him. Rest of Spain for Philip.
1704. English captured Gibraltar.
1706. Charles marched to Madrid, but withdrew.
1707. Allies defeated at Almanza.
1708. English captured Minorca.
1710. Charles again captured Madrid. Again withdrew. Allies again defeated.

Negotiations for peace:

Whig attitude. "No peace without Spain."
1706. After Ramillies. Louis offered peace on basis of second Partition Treaty. Rejected.
1708. After Oudenarde. Louis offered to withdraw recognition of Philip V. Whigs demanded that Louis should join the alliance against Spain.
1709. After Malplaquet. Louis offered to assist allies with money, but not to join the alliance. Rejected.
1712. At Utrecht. Led to peace.

Circumstances leading to peace:

1710. (1) Fall of the Whigs in England.
1711. (2) Archduke Charles became Emperor.

1713. PEACE OF UTRECHT:

(1) Philip V recognised as King of Spain.
(2) Crowns of France and Spain never to be united.
(3) Emperor Charles to receive Naples, Milan, Sardinia, Tuscan ports, and Spanish Netherlands.
(4) Barrier fortresses in the Netherlands to be garrisoned by Dutch troops.
(5) Duke of Savoy to receive Sicily and be King.
(6) Elector of Brandenburg to be King of Prussia.

(7) Great Britain to retain Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay territory.
(8) Louis to recognise Anne as Queen of Great Britain.
(9) Pretender to be expelled from France.
(10) Fortifications of Dunkirk to be dismantled.
(11) Great Britain to receive monopoly of supply of negro slaves to Spanish colonies for thirty years.
(12) Great Britain to be allowed to send one ship per annum to Porto Bello for general trade.

COMMENTS ON THE PEACE:

(1) Spain received the King she desired.
(2) Balance of power maintained.
(3) In accordance with existing facts.
(4) Defence of Holland against French attack provided for by the establishment of the Austrian Netherlands as a buffer state and by the establishment of the Barrier fortresses.
(5) Austrian power established in Italy.
(6) Protestant succession in England safeguarded. Blow to Jacobite hopes.
(7) English naval station in the Mediterranean.
(8) Beginning of open British trade with Spanish colonies.
(9) Catalans not protected from the vengeance of Philip.
(10) New European monarchies recognised.
(11) Failure of the schemes of Louis XIV.

45. ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

JAMES I:

Personal union established. King desired closer union.
Proposals rejected. Mutual dislike and suspicion.
King assumed title of "King of Great Britain."
1610. King established bishops in Scottish Church.

CHARLES I:

1633. Visited Scotland.
(1) Increased number and power of Scottish bishops.
(2) Ordered clergy to wear surplices.
(3) Ordered use of Prayer Book.

1638. General Assembly of the Scottish Church, at Glasgow.
(1) Abolished bishops.
(2) Abolished Prayer Book.

Covenant established.
Committees appointed to control Scottish affairs.
1639. First Bishops' War. No fighting.
1640. General Assembly at Edinburgh. Confirmed proceedings of first Assembly.
1640. Second Bishops' War. King defeated.
1641. King visited Scotland. Religious affairs settled. Church Presbyterian. Government in hands of Argyll.

1643. Solemn League and Covenant. Treaty between Scots and Parliament. Scots to fight for the English Puritans against the King in return for the introduction of Presbyterianism in England.

1644–6. Scottish army in England. King surrendered to Scots, who delivered him up to Parliament.

1647. The Engagement. Treaty between King and Scots. Scots to restore Charles to English throne in return for the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years.

1648. Second Civil War. Scots invaded England but were defeated by Cromwell in Lancashire.

COMMONWEALTH:

Montrose rose against Argyll's Government on behalf of Charles II. Failed. Put to death.

Charles II accepted Covenant. Recognised as King by Scots. Crowned at Scone.

1650. Cromwell invaded Scotland. Defeated Leslie at Dunbar. Followed Charles into England, where he defeated him at Worcester.

Argyll's Government overthrown. Monk governor.

Scotland united to England. Humiliating to Scots, but

(1) No religious persecution followed.
(2) Scots shared in the benefits of English trade.

CHARLES II AND JAMES II:

Union with England ended. Persecution of Covenanters carried on. Scots lost trade benefits.

1689. REVOLUTION:

Scots followed English lead and accepted William and Mary as joint King and Queen. Secured Presbyterian Church government, but failed to settle the trade question.

1695–9. DARIEN SCHEME:

An effort to establish a trading settlement independent of England. Proposed colonies on Isthmus of Darien, in order to build up trade with India across Atlantic and Pacific.

Causes of failure:

(1) Climatic difficulties.
(2) No adequate survey. Great natural obstacles.
(3) Spanish hostility.

Failure of the scheme led to much loss among Scots who had invested their savings in the Darien Company. Bitter feeling against England.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE UNION:

1701. Scots did not follow English example in the matter of the succession.

1702. Negotiations for union. Failed.

1703. Scottish Act of Security. The English successor of Queen Anne not to succeed in Scotland except on condition of free trade

between England and Scotland, Scotland receiving the benefit of the Navigation Acts, and Scotland controlling her own affairs. Anne vetoed Bill.

1704. Act of Security again passed in Scottish Parliament. Anne consented, in order to avoid a war between the two countries while the war with France was in an uncertain position.

1705. (After Blenheim). English prepared for war with Scotland. Scots alarmed.

1706. Negotiations for union. Succeeded.

1707. ACT OF UNION:

(1) One kingdom (Great Britain), with one sovereign, one army, one flag, one Parliament, but with separate laws, law-courts, and Churches.
(2) Succession as in English Act of Settlement.
(3) Sixteen Scottish peers in the House of Lords and forty-five members in the House of Commons.
(4) Free trade between England and Scotland.
(5) England to provide £400,000 to pay off Scottish national debt and to compensate those who had lost money in the Darien scheme.

UNPOPULARITY OF THE UNION:

Accepted by Scots and English as the alternative to war.
Scots regarded their national glory as lost.
Scots feared for the Presbyterian Church.
Jacobites lost hope of a Stuart restoration in Scotland.
English people disliked Scots.

RESULTS OF THE UNION:

(1) Benefit to both countries.
(2) Scottish national characteristics have been maintained.
(3) British success in the struggle with France for colonial empire.
(4) Industrial development of the Clyde valley.
(5) A blow to Jacobite hopes.

46. IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

JAMES I:

1610. *Plantation of Ulster:*

1607. Hugh O'Neill revolted. Suppressed. Lands confiscated. English and Scottish settlers given Ulster lands. Ulster became most prosperous and least Irish part of the country. Dispossessed Irish retreated to Connaught.

CHARLES I:

1633-40. *Wentworth:*

Lord Deputy. Stern rule. Order and peace. Industry encouraged. Church reforms. Army raised. Proposed Plantation of Connaught not carried out.

1641. *Rebellion:*
After Wentworth's departure. Massacre of Protestants. Several years' fighting. Roman Catholic worship restored.

COMMONWEALTH:

1649. *Cromwell:*
Overcame Ormond's attempt to establish Charles II. Capture of Drogheda and Wexford. Massacre of garrisons. Puritans settled on Irish lands. Ireton governor. Stern rule.

CHARLES II:

Ormond:
1661. Lord Lieutenant. Act of Settlement, confirming Puritan settlers in possession of their lands and offering Royalists
1665. equivalent lands. Act of Explanation, reducing Cromwellian grants. Roman Catholic worship tolerated.

JAMES II:

Tyrconell:
Lord Lieutenant. Roman Catholic. Aimed at severance of the English connection.

1689. REVOLUTION:

James attempted to recover Ireland. Protestant resistance at Derry and Enniskillen. James defeated at the Battle of the
1690. Boyne. Conquest of Ireland completed by Ginkel and Churchill.
1695. Penal code of laws against Roman Catholics.

47. PARTY STRUGGLES IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

THE QUEEN:

Daughter of James II. Weak character. Influenced by favourites. Supported Church and Tory party. Dismissed Whig ministers who took office just before William's death.

1702–1710. MARLBOROUGH MINISTRY:
Marlborough, Captain-General.
Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer. Tories.

1702–4. *Ministry Tory:*
Tories less eager than the Whigs to carry on the war.
Marlborough not sure of his position till after Blenheim.
Marlborough supported at court by his wife, who was the Queen's favourite.
1703. Occasional Conformity Bill. To prevent Dissenters from qualifying for membership of corporations by "Occasional Conformity." Tories supported Bill. Whigs opposed it. Bill defeated.

1704–6. *Ministry moderate Tory:*
After extreme Tories had left it.

1706–8. *Ministry mixed:*

Some Whigs admitted to office. Whig party in House of Commons strengthened by accession of Scottish members.

1708–10. *Ministry Whig:*

Remaining Tories resigned. Ministry entirely Whig. Marlborough and Godolphin now regarded as Whig.

Causes of fall of Marlborough Ministry:

(1) Prolongation of war.
(2) Marlborough's loss of popularity. "A second Cromwell."
(3) Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell.
(4) Quarrel of Queen and Duchess.

1710–1714. TORY MINISTRY:

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer.
Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, Secretary of State.
Abigail Hill, Harley's cousin, was Queen's favourite.

Aims:

(1) To end the war.
(2) To bring about the succession of the Pretender.

1713. *War:*

Ended by Peace of Utrecht.

Sanctioned by House of Commons (Tory majority) without difficulty.

Sanctioned by House of Lords (Whig majority) only after creation of twelve Tory peers.

Succession:

Real objection to Pretender's succession was his religion, which he was unwilling to change.

Tory preparations for Pretender's succession:

Whig regiments disbanded.

Duke of Ormond made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

Whig preparations for Elector's succession:

Electoral Prince of Hanover invited to come to England.

Queen Anne wrote angry letter to Sophia, who died soon after.

Quarrel of Harley and Bolingbroke. Harley would not support Pretender unless he would change his religion. Quarrel of Harley and Bolingbroke in Queen's presence. Harley dismissed.

1714. Bolingbroke alone at head of Government. Queen taken ill. Appointed Duke of Shrewsbury, a Whig, Lord High Treasurer. Queen died. Shrewsbury proclaimed George I.

Bolingbroke fled to France.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

THE TUDORS

THE STUARTS

JAMES IV
(1488–1513)
m. Margaret Tudor

JAMES V
(1513–1542)

MARY STUART
(1542–1567)

JAMES VI
(King of Scotland, 1567–1625)
(King of England, 1603–1625)

Henry
Prince of Wales
Died 1612

CHARLES I
(1625–1649)

Elizabeth
m. Elector
Palatine

CHARLES II
(1660–1685)

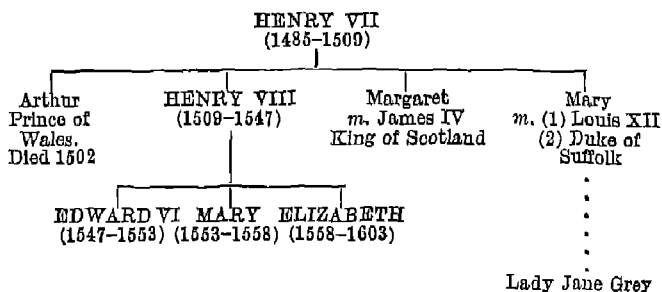
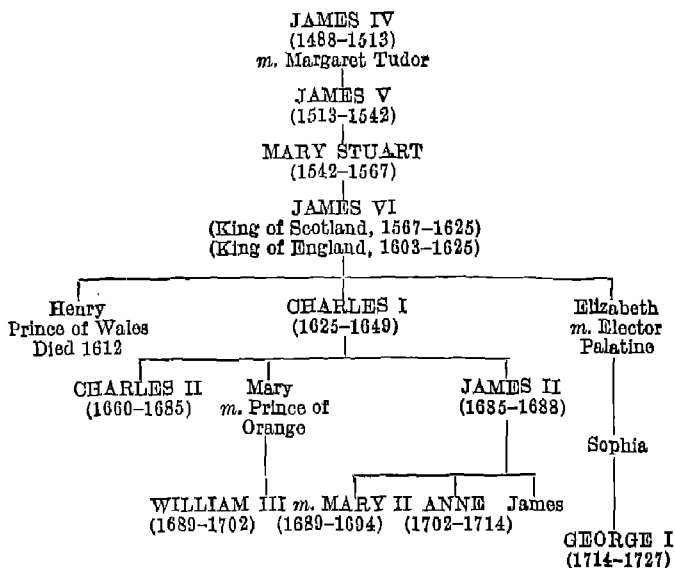
Mary
m. Prince of
Orange

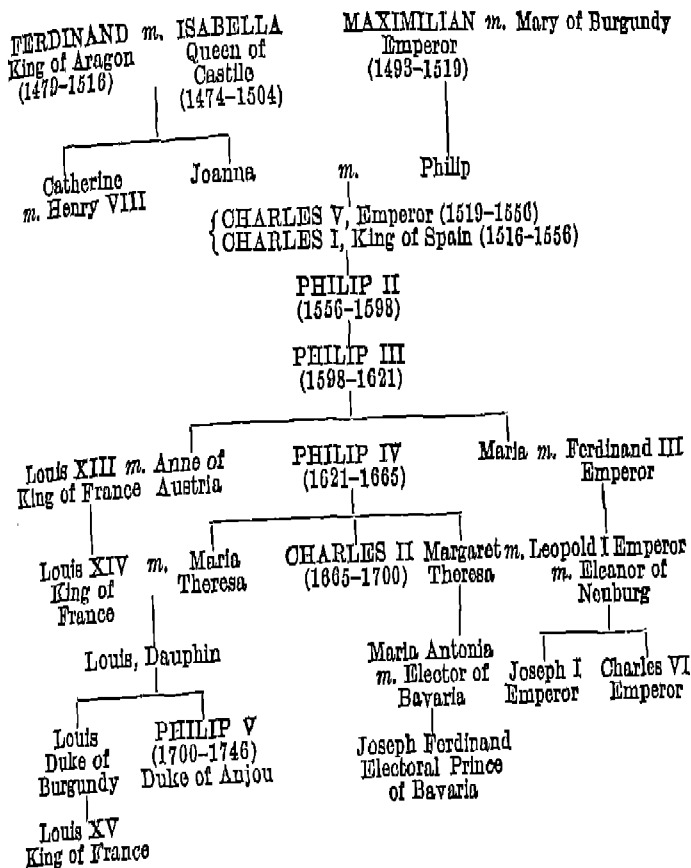
JAMES II
(1685–1688)

Sophia

WILLIAM III *m.* MARY II
(1689–1702) (1689–1694)

ANNE
(1702–1714)

James

GEORGE I
(1714–1727)

THE HAPSBURGS

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